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SOUTH-INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS

VOLUME III

MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE TAMIL COUNTRY

PARTS I AND II

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P R E F A C E

THIS volume of *South-Indian Inscriptions* consists of four parts of which the first, containing the texts, translations and short introductions of 63 inscriptions secured from Ukkal, Melpadi, Karuvur, Manmangalam and Tiruvallam, was issued by Dr. Hultzsch in 1899. The second part published by the same scholar in 1903 dealt with 25 mediæval Chola inscriptions and contained a full account of the political history of the period covered by the reigns of the four Chola kings Virarajendra I, Kulottunga I, Vikrama-Chola and Kulottunga III. In 1920, Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri brought out the third part of the volume with texts and translations of 117 important Chola inscriptions belonging to the reigns of almost all the members of the Vijayalaya line from Aditya I to Rajendra-Chola I excepting Rajaraja I, having in view the object of writing a complete account of the Cholas in the concluding part. The special feature of this part is that it includes in it a critical edition of the Tiruvalangadu plates discovered in 1906 and briefly reviewed by Mr. Venkayya in his *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for that year. The plates furnish not only a complete genealogy of the Cholas but also give more detailed information about individual kings than are narrated in the Leyden plates, the only authority till then for Chola history. As an account of the time of Rajaraja I had been given by Mr. Venkayya in his introduction to Volume II and as the part played by the mediæval Cholas had been sketched by Dr. Hultzsch in Part II of this volume, it remained only to notice the history of the early members of the Vijayalaya line including the reign of Rajendra-Chola I. This account is now given as an introduction to the volume and is appended to Part IV which contains two Pandya grants from Sinnamanur and some minor Chola copper-plates. It is a matter for regret that Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri, who undertook to edit the part was not spared to see the final issue of it. The Chola history narrated in the introduction and the edition of the two Pandya grants from Sinnamanur will be remembered as his last epigraphical contribution. He left to me the verification of the index of the first three parts, the incorporation in it of the references to Part IV and introduction, the drawing up of the addenda and corrigenda, the editing of the minor Chola copper-plates and the revision of the proofs.

To be consistent with the earlier parts in the system of transliteration, the old diacritical marks have been employed in Part IV and introduction.

OOTACAMUND, }
19th March 1928. }

K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AYYAR.

I

CONTENTS

PART I.

INSCRIPTIONS AT UKKAL, MELPADI, KARUVUR, MANIMANGALAM AND TIRUVALLAM.

	PAGE
No. I.—Inscriptions in the Vishnu Temple at Ukkal	1
1 On the north wall of the shrine	2
2 On the north and west walls of the same shrine	4
3 On the west wall of the same shrine	5
4 On the same wall	6
5 On the south wall of the same shrine	8
6 On the same wall	9
7 Do	11
8 Do	13
9 On the north wall of the mandapa	14
10 On the same wall	15
11 Do	17
12 On the west wall of the same mandapa	18
13 On the south wall of the same mandapa	20
14 On the same wall	21
No. II.—Inscriptions at Melpadi	22
15 On the base of the Cholesvara shrine	23
16 On the same base	24
17 On the north wall of the same shrine	26
18 On the same wall	27
19 On the south wall of the Somanathesvara shrine	29
No. III.—Inscriptions in the Pasupatisvara temple at Karuvur	30
20 On the south wall of the Pasupatisvara shrine	31
21 On the same wall	39
22 On the south wall of the shrine of the goddess	41
23 On the outside of the second prakara, right of entrance	43
24 Do left of entrance	45
25 On the north wall of the Pasupatisvara shrine	46
26 On the outside of the second prakara, left of entrance	47
No. IV.—Inscriptions at Manimangalam	48
27 On the south wall of the shrine in the Rajagopala-Perumal temple	50
28 On the north and west walls of the same shrine	51
29 On the outside of the east wall of the inner prakara of the same temple	58
30 On the north wall of the mandapa in the same temple	64
31 On the west wall of the same mandapa	71
32 On the south wall of the same mandapa	74
33 On the west wall of the same mandapa	75
34 On the same wall	77
35 On the outside of the east wall of the inner prakara of the same temple	79
36 On the south wall of the mandapa in the same temple	82
37 On the east wall of the same mandapa	84
38 On the outside of the east wall of the inner prakara of the same temple	85
39 On the east wall of the mandapa in the same temple	85
40 On the outside of the east wall of the inner prakara of the same temple	86
41 On the east wall of the Dharmesvara temple	87
No. V.—Inscriptions at Tiruvallam	88
42 On a boulder near Tiruvallam	90
43 On the north wall of the maha-mandapa in the Bilvanathesvara temple	92
44 On the same wall	95
45 On the south wall of the Bilvanathesvara shrine	96
46 On a stone built into the floor of the Bilvanathesvara temple	97
47 On the west wall of the Bilvanathesvara shrine	98
48 On the west wall of the same shrine	100

	PAGE
49 On the south wall of the same shrine	101
50 On the west wall of the same shrine	103
51 On the north wall of the same shrine	104
52 On the west and south walls of the same shrine	106
53 On the north wall of the maha-mandapa in the same temple	107
54 On the north wall of the Nakulesvara shrine in the same temple	109
55 On the west wall of the Bilvanathesvara shrine	111
56 On the south wall of the maha-mandapa in the same temple	113
57 On the north wall of the same mandapa	114
58 On the base of the verandah round the Bilvanathesvara shrine	118
59 On the south wall of the maha-mandapa in the same temple	120
60 On the wall to the north of the tank in the same temple	120
61 On the same wall	121
62 On the north wall of the maha-mandapa in the same temple	122
63 On the west wall of the kitchen in the same temple	123

PART II.

INSCRIPTIONS OF VIRARAJENDRA I, KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA I, VIKRAMA-CHOLA AND KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA III.

No. VI.—Inscriptions of Kulottunga-Chola I	125
64 Inscription at Tiruvonriyur	132
65 Do at Tiruvalangadu	134
66 Do at Kolar	136
67 Do at Somangalam	139
68 Do in the Pandava-Perumal temple at Conjeeveram	140
69 Do at Tirukkalukkunram	143
70 Do at Srinangam	148
71 Do at Kilappaluvur	152
72 Do at Tiruvidaimarudur	155
73 Do at Cholaipuram	159
74 Do in the Pandava-Perumal temple at Conjeeveram	163
75 Do at Tirukkalukkunram	164
76 Do in the Jambukesvara temple	168
77 Do at Kavantandalam	172
78 Do at Perumber	173
No. VII.—Inscriptions of Vikrama-Chola	178
79 Inscription at Tirumalavadi	182
80 Do in the Arulala-Perumal temple at Conjeeveram	186
No. VIII.—Inscriptions of Virarajendra I	190
81 Inscription at Tirunamanallur	197
82 Do at Kilu	199
83 Do at Tindivanam	200
84 Do at Perumber	202
No. IX.—Inscriptions of Kulottunga-Chola III	204
85 Inscription at Tirumanikuli	209
86 Do at Chidambaram	210
87 Do do	213
88 Do at Srinangam	217

PART III.

INSCRIPTIONS OF ADITYA I, PARANTAKA I, MADIRAIKONDA RAJAKESARI-VARMAN, PARANTAKA II, UTTAMA - CHOLA, PARTHIVENDRAVARMAN, ADITYA-KARIKALA AND THE TIRUVALANGADU PLATES

No. X.—Inscriptions of the time of Rajakesarivarman Aditya I	221
89 On the south wall of the central shrine in the Ghrithasthanesvara temple at Tillasthanam	221
90 On the north wall of the central shrine in the Jnanaparamesvara temple at Tirumeyjnanam	222
91 On a pillar lying in the mandapa in a street at Tirunagesvaram	223

	PAGE
92 On a boulder in front of a natural cave at Vedal	224
93 On a slab set up in front of the Silaiyamma temple at Nerkuam	225
94 On the north wall of the central shrine in the Airavatesvara temple at Niyaman ..	226
No. XI—Inscriptions of Parakesarivarman Parantaka I—	
95 On the south wall of the mandapa in front of the Abhimesvara shrine at Tiru- mattur	227
96 On the south wall of the mandapa in front of the central shrine in the Chandra- sekhar temple at Tiruchchendurai	228
97 On a rock to the left of the painted cave at Tirumalai near Polur	229
98 On a pillar in the inner enclosure of the Ujjivanathasvamin temple at Uyyakkondan- Tumalai	230
99 On the north wall of the central shrine in the Kharapurisvara temple at Tiruppaik- kadal	231
100 On the south wall of the central shrine in the Madhuvanesvara temple at Tirukkala- vur	233
101 On the east wall of the rock-cut shrine in the Melaikkoyil temple at Kudumiyamalai, left of entrance	234
102 On the south wall of the central shrine in the Madhuvanesvara temple at Tirukkala- vur	235
103 On a slab built into the verandah round the central shrine of the Adhipurisvara temple at Tiruvorriyur	235
104 On the same slab	236
105 On another slab built into the same verandah	237
106 On the rock at the entrance into the central shrine of the Narasingapperumal temple at Anaimalai	239
107 On the north wall of the central shrine in the Sivayoganathasvamin temple at Tiruvisalur	242
108 On a slab built into the floor of the Adhipurisvara temple at Tiruvorriyur ..	242
109 On the north wall of the Lakshminarayana-Perumal temple at Sinnamanur ..	243
110 On the south wall of the central shrine in the Madhuvanesvara temple at Tirukkalavur	244
No. XII—Inscriptions of Rajakesarivarman, Madirakonda Rajakesarivarman or Gandara- ditya—	
111 On the north wall of the central shrine in the Adimulesvara temple at Tiruppalatturai	246
112 On the same wall	248
113 On the south wall of the central shrine in the Ghritasthanesvara temple at Tilla- sthanam	249
114 On the south wall of the central shrine in the Dandisvara temple at Velachcheri ..	250
115 On a pillar lying to the south of the Adhipurisvara temple at Tiruvorriyur ..	251
116 On the west wall of the central shrine in the Dandisvara temple at Velachcheri ..	252
117 On the south wall of the central shrine in the ruined Vishnu temple at Tirumalpuram	253
118 In the same place	254
No. XIII—Inscriptions of Rajakesarivarman Sundara-Chola Parantaka II—	
119 On the north wall of the central shrine in the Sivayoganathasvamin temple at Tiru- visalur	255
120 In the same place	256
121 Do.	257
122 On the south wall of the central shrine in the Vedapurisvara temple at Tirukkalattattai	258
No. XIV—Inscriptions of Parakesarivarman Uttama-Chola—	
123 On the south wall of the central shrine in the Madhuvanesvara temple at Tirukkalavur	259
124 On the north wall of the central shrine in the Mahalingasvamin temple at Tiru- vidaimarudur	260
125 On the north base of the central shrine in the Varaha-Perumal temple at Tiruvadandai	261
126 On the south wall of the mandapa in front of the central shrine in the Chandra- sekhar temple at Tiruchchendurai	262
127 On the west wall of the central shrine in the Ghritasthanesvara temple at Tillasthanam	263
128 Madras Museum plates of Uttama-Chola	264
129 On the west and south walls of the Nagesvarasvamin temple at Kumbakonam ..	276
130 On the north wall of the central shrine in the Umamabesvara temple at Koneriraja- puram	276
131 On the north wall of the central shrine in the Nagesvarasvamin temple at Kumbakonam	277
132 On the north base of the second pillar in the rock-cut cave in the Pundarikaksha- Perumal temple at Tiruvellurai	278
133 On the west wall of the central shrine in the Adimulesvara temple at Tiruppalatturai	279
134 On the north wall of the central shrine in the Virattanesvara temple at Kandiur ..	281

	PAGE
135 On the south wall of the central shrine in the Ujjivanathasvamin temple at Uyyakondan-Tirumalai	282
136 On the north wall of the central shrine in the Kalyanasundaresvara temple at Nallur	282
137 On the west wall of the central shrine in the Nagesvarasvamin temple at Kumbakonam	283
138 On the south wall of the central shrine in the Mahalingasvamin temple at Tiruvidaimarudur	284
139 On the south wall of the mandapa in front of the central shrine in the Vatatirthanatha temple at Andanallur	285
140 On the south wall of the Ganesa shrine in the Nedungalanatha temple at Tirunedungalam	286
141 On the west wall of the central shrine in the Masilamanisvara temple at Tirumullaivayil	286
142 On the north wall of the central shrine in the Manikantesvara temple at Tirumalpuram	288
143 On a slab built into the floor of the verandah round the central shrine in the Adhipurisvara temple at Tiruvoriyur	293
144 On the south wall of the central shrine in the Apatsahayesvara temple at Aduturai	294
145 On a pillar lying to the south of the tank in front of the Adhipurisvara temple at Tiruvoriyur	295
146 On the south wall of the central shrine in the Umamahesvara temple at Konernajapuram	295
147 On the same wall	296
148 On the north wall of the central shrine in the Sivayoganathasvamin temple at Tiruvisalur	297
149 On the south wall of the central shrine in the Siddhanathasvamin temple at Tirunaiyur	297
150 On the north wall of the central shrine in the Adimulesvara temple at Tiruppalatturai	299
151 On the south and east walls of the central shrine in the Umamahesvarasvamin temple at Konernajapuram	300
151-a On the east and north walls of the same shrine	312
No. XV—Inscriptions of Parthivendravarman or Parthivendradhipativarman, who took the head of Vira-Pandya—	
152 On the south-east wall of the Vaikuntha-Perumal temple at Uttaramallur	323
153 On the south wall of the same temple	324
154 On the north wall of the same temple	325
155 On the west wall of the Madaramman temple in the same village	326
156 On the north wall of the central shrine in the Kharapurisvara temple at Tirupparkadal	327
157 On the west wall of the Vaikuntha-Perumal temple at Uttaramallur	330
158 On the east wall of the same temple	333
159 On the north wall of the same temple	335
160 On the same wall	336
161 Do	337
162 Do	338
163 Do	339
164 Do	340
165 On the south wall of the central shrine in the ruined Vishnu temple at Tirumalpuram	342
166 On the north wall of the central shrine in the Jalanathesvara temple at Takkolam	343
167 On the north wall of the Vaikuntha-Perumal temple at Uttaramallur	343
168 On the same wall	345
169 Do	346
170 Do	347
171 On the south wall of the Subrahmanya temple at Uttaramallur	348
172 On the north wall of the Vaikuntha-Perumal temple at Uttaramallur	349
173 On the north wall of the central shrine in the Jalanathesvara temple at Takkolam	350
174 On a slab built into the floor of the mandapa in front of the central shrine of the Masilamanisvara temple at Tirumullaivayil	351
175 On a rock in the backyard of a private house at Tayanur	351
176 On a rock near the Siva temple in the same village	352
177 On the north wall of the Vaikuntha-Perumal temple at Uttaramallur	352
178 On a rock near the ruined Siva temple at Tayanur	354
179 On the north wall of the Vaikuntha-Perumal temple at Uttaramallur	355
180 On the north base of the central shrine in the Varaha-Perumal temple at Tiruvadandai	356
181 On a slab lying in the courtyard of the Tiruvalisvara temple at Padai (Tiruvalidayam)	357
182 On the north wall of the Vaikuntha-Perumal temple at Uttaramallur	359
183 On the south wall of the same temple	360
184 On the west wall of the central shrine in the Jalanathesvara temple at Takkolam	361

	PAGE
185 On the north base of the central shrine in the Varaha-Perumal temple at Tiruvadandai	361
186 On the same base	362
187 On a stone at Anaikkattattur	363
188 On a slab set up in the Tiruvalisvara temple at Kattur	364
189 On a stone built into the west wall of the Ullangaikulunda Nayanar temple at Maduramangalam	365
190 On the north wall of the central shrine in the Jalanathesvara temple at Takkolam ..	366
191 On the south wall of the Seliyamman temple at Velachcheri	367
192 On the north wall of the central shrine in the ruined Vishnu temple at Tirumalpuram	368
193 On the north wall of the Vaikuntha-Perumal temple at Uttaramallur ..	368
194 On the south wall of the Sundaravarada-Perumal temple in the same village ..	370
195 On the north wall of the same temple	372
196 On a slab built into the floor of the mandapa in front of the Latamadhyamba shrine in the Masilamanisvara temple at Tirumullaivayil	373
197 On the north wall of the central shrine in the Manikantesvara temple at Tirumalpuram	373
198 On the north wall of the central shrine in the ruined Vishnu temple in the same village	374
No. XVI—Inscriptions of Parakesarivarman (Aditya II Kaikala) who took the head of Vira-Pandya or the Pandya (king)	
199 On a pillar in the inner enclosure of the Ujjivanathasvamin temple at Uyyakkondan-Tirumalai	375
200 On the north wall of the central shrine in the Nagesvarasvamin temple at Kumbakonam	376
201 On the same wall	377
202 On the north wall of the central shrine in the Mahalingasvamin temple at Tiruvadamudur	378
203 On the same wall	380
204 On the north wall of the central shrine in the Nagesvarasvamin temple at Kumbakonam	382
205 The Tiruvalangadu copper-plates of the sixth year of Rajendra-Chola I	383

PART IV

No. XVII—Copper-plate grants from Sinnamanur, Tirukkalar and Tiruchchengodu—	
206 Two Pandya copper-plate grants from Sinnamanur	441
Five Chola copper-plates from Tirukkalar—	
207 Tirukkalar Plate of Rajendra-Chola I	465
208 Do of Rajadhiraja I	469
209 Do of Kulottunga-Chola I	470
210 Do of Tribhuvanachakravartin Rajarajadeva	472
211 Do of Kulottunga-Chola III	473
Two Chola copper plate grants from Tiruchchengodu—	
212 Tiruchchengodu Plate of Rajakesarivarman	476
213 Do do.	477

LIST OF PLATES

No.						To face page
I	Ukkal Inscription of Rajakesarivarman	..	..	..	..	2
II	Do. of Rajaraja I	..	..	..	..	4
III.	Do. of Kampavarman and Parantaka I	..	..	..	..	19
IV	Melpadi Inscription of Rajaraja I	..	..	..	..	26
V	Tiruvallam Inscription of Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman	..	..	..	..	91
VI	Thirukkalukkunram Inscription of Kulottunga-Chola I	..	..	..	..	166
VII.	Tillasthanam and Nerkunam Inscriptions of Rajakesarivarman	..	..	..	..	225
VIII	Anaimalai Inscription of Madirakonda Parakesarivarman	..	..	..	..	240
						Between pages
IX	Madras Museum plates of Uttama-Chola	..	..	..	..	270-271
X	Do. do	..	..	..	..	272-273
						To face page
XI	Sculpture on the south wall of the Siva temple at Konerirajapuram with Inscription	..	..	..	..	296
XII	Uttaramallur Inscription of Parthivendradhipativarman	..	..	..	..	370
						Between pages
XIII	Tiruvalangadu Plates of Rajendra-Chola	..	..	..	..	392-393
XIV	Do do	..	..	..	..	396-397
XV	Do do.	..	..	..	..	398-399
XVI.	Do do.	..	..	..	..	400-401
XVII	Do do	..	..	..	..	404-405
XVIII.	Do do	..	..	..	..	410-411
XIX	Do do	..	..	..	..	412-413
XX	The bigger Sinnamanur Plates	..	..	..	..	452-453
XXI	Do. do.	..	..	..	..	454-455
						To face page
XXII	The smaller Sinnamanur Plates	..	..	..	..	463
XXIII.	Thukkalai Plate of Rajendra-Chola I	..	..	..	..	467
XXIV.	Do. of Rajadhiraja I	..	..	..	..	470
XXV	Do. of Kulottunga	..	..	..	..	471
XXVI	Do of Rajarajadeva	..	..	..	..	472
XXVII	Do. of Kulottunga III	..	..	..	..	474
XXVIII.	Thiruchchengodu Plate of Rajakesarivarman	..	..	..	..	476
						Between pages
XXIX	Do. do	..	..	..	..	478-479

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

Page 5, line 1.—For “beginning” read “adjoining”

„ 5 „ 3—For “the road to (the temple of) Śankaranârâyana” read “the road (called) Śankaranârâyanaṇavadi.”

Lines 1 to 3 may be altered as follows:—“The land partitioned on the north (so as to) adjoin the land of Râghavadêva and situated to the west of (the road called) Śaṅkara-nârâyanaṇavadi and to the north of (the channel called) Tarutambavâykkâl.”

For note 1 on this page, substitute “அடைய” means “to meet or adjoin.”

„ 6, line 8 of Translation—For “Odumukki[bhrân]ta-Kramavittan” read “Bhrânta-Kramavittan of Ôdimûkkil”

„ 6, line 17 of „ —For “Mudumbai Śandirâchcha-Tambiyum-Ulittâr” read “Śandirâchchan of Mudumbai, (his) younger brother and others.”

„ 7, text-line 3—For தனனெழிலு read தனனெழிலு

„ 9, line 4.—The phrase “வரிககடடி” has been split into வரி and கடடி and translated “shall close (the sluice of) the tank (to collect water for irrigation)” but it may be better to split வரிககடடி into வரிககு and அடி and translate it as “giving (it) for (the maintenance of) the tank.”

„ 13, line 2.—For “per day” which is the rendering of “மெயவேறு” substitute “each or individually” and strike out the note

„ 17, text-line 1—Insert a hyphen at the end of the line

„ 17 „ 2.—For கூறறு read கூறறு

„ 18 „ 8—For செறுவிற read செறுவிற

„ 18, No 12, line 3—Omit the words “for burning” in line 10 of paragraph 1 of translation

„ 18—For “A D 900 to 940” read “A.D 907 to 953”

Introduction of No 12

As No. 11 registers the general order of the assembly regarding the grant of the village of Śôdiyambâkkam made in the 16th year of the King and as No 12 states “that in accordance with that grant, the assembly refrained from paying the customary rights which were (thereby) left to the temple”, the latter record seems to have been issued subsequent to the former.

„ 20, line 7—For “store-room” read “central shrine”

„ 20, translation of line 9—For “(If) a crime (or) sin becomes public, the god (i.e. temple authorities) alone shall punish the inhabitants of this village (for it)” read “The dêva (i.e. the temple authorities) alone shall realise by levying *kurra-dôsham*¹ and *manupôdu*² from the inhabitants of these villages” and enter the following notes:—

1 With அணிககு cf. தண்டி “demanding”

2 குறமதேதாஷம seems to mean “fine imposed on persons for defaults”

3 மனறுபாடு is also a similar fine imposed by the village assembly

For note 9 enter “மெயவேறு” means “individually”

„ 24, line 13—For “resting-place” read “tomb-shrine.”

„ 25, line 1f of Translation.—For “as a resting-place for the king who fell asleep at Ârrûr” read “as a tomb-shrine of Ârrûr-tuñjinadêva i.e. the king who died at Ârrûr”

„ 27, line 2f—For “the king who fell asleep at Ârrûr” read “the king who died at Ârrûr”

„ 28, Translation, l. 9—Change “the crown of Sundara” into “the beautiful crown”

Page 37, line 20.—For “Pôttā[ra]yan ” read “Pottayan ”

„ 41 — Add to the introduction of No 22 the following —

“It has, however, to be noted that some of the signatories have the name ‘Kulôttunga’ prefixed to their surnames and we do not know of any Kulôttunga before the first of that name who occupied the Chôla throne after Parakêśarivarman Râjêndradêva ”

„ 50, text-line 8.—For எ[ழ*]சசொறு and வெயதி read எசசொறு and வெயதி

„ „ For note 1 substitute—“As Lôkamahâdêvi - chaturvêdimangalam, which must have been called after Lôkamahâdêvî, one of the queens of Râjarâja I, is mentioned in this inscription, the Râjakêśarivarman of this record may either be Râjarâja I or one of his successors who bore that title

„ 55, top line.—For வெழகுலாசளுக்கியா read வெழகுலசசளுக்கியா.

„ 57, translation of line 6 —For “Vêlakulai, Śalukkiyar (Chalukya)” read “the Śalukkiyar (Chalukyas) of the Vêl family:”—see note 7 on p 161

„ 85 —For முதலாக in note 4, read முதலதிறகா and in Translation, line 7, for “on interest” read “as fixed deposit.”

„ 90, Introduction to No. 42, line 3 end.—For “Western Ganga” read “Pallava.”

„ 92, translation of line 11 —For “He who destroys this (*charity*) shall incur the sin of one who kills the great men who are permanent (*members*)^s of the assembly^s” read “He who destroys this (*Charity*) shall incur the sin of killing the seven hundred of the *ghatika* ”

„ 105, translation, line 9 —For “Śamkaradêva, (the son of)” read “Tiruvaiyan Śamkaradêva ” and remove “—Tiruvaiyan ” in the last line but one.

„ 107, Introduction to No. 53, lines 3-7.—For “Sômanâtha (*the son of*) Śamkaradêva whose Râjarâja I (51). The same epithets . . . spelling” read “Samkaradêva Sômanâtha to whose name are prefixed the same epithets as those that precede the name of Tiruvaiyan Samkaradêva occurring in No 51 with nearly the same mistakes in spelling ”

„ 108, translation, line 2 —Delete the words “Sômanâtha (*the son of*) ”

„ „ 4 —After “Samkaradêva” add “Sômanâtha.”

„ 117, line 12 —For “Pulângudai ” read “Pulângudi ”

„ „ line 36.—For “Ilaiyânkudai ” read “Ilaiyânkudi.”

„ „ note 7 —For “tandahl - akkai ” read “tandal - ilakka ”

„ 128, line 2 —For “by defeating the king of Dhârâ at Śakkarakôttam ” read “by defeating Dhârâ-varaisan (i.e., Dhârâvarsha) at Śakkarakôttam ”

„ 130, line 16f —Omit the words “i.e. the western hill country (Malabar) and the ancestors of the Nairs of the present day.”

„ 132, line 13f —For “from the king of Dhârâ ” substitute “from Dhârâvaraisan (i.e., Dhârâvarsha).”

„ 143, note 4 —For “which passes ” read “which passes.”

„ „ note 10 —For “êrachchôru ” read “echchôru.”

„ 163, line 5.—For “The chief (*kôn*) of this village, Râjarâjan *alias* Kulôttunga-Śôla-Nâñjinâd-Udayân ” read “Kôn Râja-râjan *alias* Kulôttunga-Śôla-Nâñjinâd-Udayân of this village.”

„ 177, note 2.—For “With *maganmai* ‘the daughtership’ compare the similar term *maganmai* ‘the sonship’ in No. 57 above, text-line 9 ” read “*Maganmai* or *maganmai*

is a revenue term (equivalent to *magama*) and means according to Dr. Winslow 'the revenue of a temple or other public establishment, from the produce of land or a portion of the taxes: or the stated voluntary contribution to such an establishment'."

Page 216, note 4 —For "Vanîlam" read "Vânîlam."

„ 242, Introduction to No. 108, line 5. —For "gives the king" read "gives the chief Mâraṇ Paramêśvaran "

Note.—According to the Tamil portion he was the donor and not the king.

Page 242—No 108 Introduction, line 5f —For "gives the king the title Vîrakîrti" read "gives the donor Mâraṇ Paramêśvaran the title Vîrakîrti."

„ 247, Translation, line 4 —For "Tiruvunnâligaipuram" read "Tiruvunnâligaipuram "

„ 253, end of Translation —For "Gana" read "gana."

„ 260, para. 2 —The word *sabhaikûttuvân* has been taken to be the proper name of a field. But it is very likely that it means "he who convenes the assembly "

„ 260, Introduction to No. 124 —Add the following :—

By its very contents which refer to the renovation of the temple and the using up of the earlier lithic records in its construction, this inscription appears to be the earliest one to be engraved on the walls of the renovated temple. As such, it must belong to the reign of Parântaka I or his grandfather Vijayâlaya, for both of them bore the title Parakêśarvarman. In this connection it may be noted that the earliest certain inscription on the walls of the temple belongs to the reign of Parântaka I.

„ 279, Translation, line 8.—The word *Vâvu* which is not translated may be taken to refer to Pûrṇimâ (full moon) or Amâvâsya (new moon).

„ 290, text-line 83.—For திரு[நா] read திருந[ல].

„ 292, line 13 —For "Madiri" read "Madirai."

„ 293, line 4 —For "Karpagam" read "Karpagam "

„ „ line 5 —For "Tirunâlûr" read "Tirunallûr."

„ „ line 7 —For "Krishnan" read "Krishnan."

„ „ line 11 —For "Nerkunram" read "Nerkuniam."

„ paragraph 2, line 3 —For "nadu" read "nâdu."

„ 294, Introduction to No. 144, paragraph 2, line 4.—For "laksana" read "lakshana."

„ 300, last line but 2 —For "Kâraikkâttu" read "Kâraikkâttu "

„ 310, note 2 —For "vidha" read "vidhâ."

„ 345, note 10, last line.—For "Mahâseepuram" read "Mahâbalipuram."

„ 378, Introduction to No. 202, line 3. —For "Tiruvêlai - araichchâkkai" read "Tiruvêlarai-châkkai."

„ „ last line of the notes —Supply 4 at the beginning.

„ 379, line 10 —For "His name" read "His name."

„ „ text-line 4 —For திருவெளை அறைச்சாக்கை[சு*]கு read திருவெளை அறைச்சாக்கை[சு*]கு.

„ 381, translation, line 20 —Enter note 5 on the word "adai - ôlai "

„ 382, line 19.—For "nêrṇu" read "nêru"

„ 383, line 3 of Introduction to the Tiruvâlangâdu plates—Correct "1916" into "1906".

„ 391, foot-note 6 —For "Vannâra-pârai" read "Vannâra-pârai "

„ 421, (v 80) —For "Râvana" read "Râvana"

„ 435, last line.—For "Nochchikaluval" read "Nochchikaluval."

„ 437, (L. 458)—line 6 —For "me" read "mine."

Page 460, footnote 4.—*For* “Mahâratia, Malaikalam and proferably,” *read* “Mahâratha, Malaikalam and preferably”.

„ 462, „ 1, line 1 —*For* “Kôttâmolil,” *read* “Kôttârpilil”

„ „ 1, 2 —*For* “Kôttârpoli” *read* “Kôttârpilil”

„ 463, „ 3.—*For* “धरणि,” *read* “धरणि”.

„ 470, Translation 1, 8 —*For* “tunî and kurunî,” *read* “tûnî and Kurunî”

Index p 7.—*Against* “Ettukkûr” *have* the number “71” instead of “7”

„ p 12.—*For* “Kauskan,” *read* “Kausikan” and *for* “Kavêrakaryakâ,” *read* “Kavêrakanyakâ”.

„ p. 29 —Second column, item 7 —*For* “Katân a” *read* “Katâha”

Add Corr., p. XIII.—*For* “p 25 l 1f” *read* “p 25 l. 6f”

INTRODUCTION.

The early ruling dynasties of Southern India were the Chêras, Chôlas and Pândyas who ethnologically are supposed to have been of a common stock, different from that of the Aryans of Northern India. Their language was Tamil and their country accordingly was known as *Tamilakam*¹ 'the country of the Tamils'. Under the Aryan influence, the name *Tamilakam* appears in later times to have been Sanskritised into *Dramilaka* or *Dramiduka* and dropping the *ka* in accordance with a rule of Sanskrit grammar it became *Dramila*, *Dramida*, *Dravida* or *Drâvda*. When and how these changes took place it is difficult to say. Agastya and Paraśurâma are famous Aryan sages whose stories are intimately connected, from the epic times, with the Drâvda country, Southern India. The term *Dramidâh* occurs as the name of a country, perhaps South India, in the Bhîshmaparvan of the *Mahâbhârata*². Manu speaks of the Dravidas as a degraded class of Kshatriyas. Ptolemy in the first century A.D. used the word *Dimirice*, perhaps, to denote the very same tract of land. In the *Bṛhajjâtaka* of Varâhamihira and in Hsuen Tsiang, we find it restricted to the name of a district on the east coast of the Deccan, of which the capital was Conjeeveram. The word *Tamil* means 'melodious' and it was evidently its sweetness that contributed the name Tamil to that language. Whatever may have been the origin of the word, it remains a fact that the Aryans changed it into 'Dramida' first and in their characteristic way attempted afterwards to assimilate it and trace it to some Sanskrit root: this appears to have been the practice of the day, as may be inferred from the incidental note on Drâvidî words given by Bhatta Kumârila in his famous *Tantra-Vârthika*.

Ethnologists point out several racial differences between the Dravidians and the Aryans such as (1) their customs and manners, (2) their thought formations, and (3) the peculiarities in their physical build. While all this may establish Dravidians as a distinct type, it does not help the historian to peep into the antiquity of an independent Dravidian age in the South, uncontaminated by Aryan influence: much less does it enable him to record any events that might corroborate its separate existence. Tamil literature, to a certain extent, speaks of the early period of the Tamils but the major portion of its account has yet to be worked out and proved to be a reliable record of contemporaneous events. Even the few historical facts imbedded in it, are in the usual oriental fashion mixed up with the imagery of the poet or the flattery of the courtier.

The kingdoms of the Chôda, Pândya and Kêralaputta (Chêra) are stated in the Rock Edicts of Asôka to have been bordering on the dominions of the Mauryan Emperor and in the first

¹ *Tamilakam* is sometimes connected with Tamluk (Tamrahpt) in Bengal it being presumed that the Tamils immigrated into the South of India by the North-Eastern route through the valley of the Brahmaputra. The expression *Tamilagam* consists of two words *Tamil* and *agam* of which the latter means 'earth or land'. In Sanskritising it into *Dramiduka* the significance of the original Tamil word *agam* does not appear to have been recognised, but the letter *ka* was retained because it was there in the original. Gradually this letter also was dropped since in Sanskrit the suffix *ka* is optionally added to a noun without causing any change in meaning. Sometimes *ka* has the diminutive significance. Thus *Dramulaka* may have been applied originally to a small district, but when the extended country had to be referred to, the suffix *ka* was dropped and only *Dramula* used.

² Ch. 9, v. 58.

of these, i.e., the Chôda country, the faithful (i.e., Buddhists) are reported to have been living. That Buddhism had already reached the South even before Asôka's time is thus confirmed by the latter statement, though the Ceylonese chronicle *Mahāvamsa* denies the fact poetically when it says that the missionaries of Asôka flew over Southern India direct to Ceylon from Kalinga to preach the Buddhist faith there. Stronger evidences have also been recently brought to light which prove the possible influence of Buddhism in Southern India. Whatever the Epics, the Purânas and other early Sanskrit works may state or prove regarding the original Drâvida inhabitants, their country and their civilisation, positive epigraphical evidence contained in the cave inscriptions of the Madura and Tinnevely districts written in Brâhmî characters of a pre-Asôkan type, and in a language whose affinity to the Dravidian may yet be established when these queer records come to be successfully interpreted¹, shows that these natural caverns, like the thousands of similar rock-shelters of Ceylon were occupied in pre-Christian times by the Buddhists and converted by them into residences for their ascetics. The Brâhmî characters of these records at any rate must have been introduced by the Buddhists from the north or from Ceylon, though the language adopted may have been one mostly influenced by local dialects. Besides these, no further traces of Buddhism are known to exist in South India till after a long interval. In the 11th century A.D. we find gifts made to the great *vihâra* (called Pudukôttai) at Nâgapattanam (Negapatam) by the famous Chôla king Râjarâja I. Tamil literature abounds in references to Buddhist stories and authors and leaves no doubt that Buddhism thrived well from its very inception right up to the period of the Śaiva and Vaishnava revivals in the early 7th century A.D. and perhaps in a milder form even after that period, down to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries of the Christian era.

The Purânic and the Buddhist periods in the history of Southern India being thus almost a blank from an epigraphical point of view the history of the Śaiva saints and Vaishnava Ālvârs handed down by tradition and recorded in the books *Peryapurânam* and *Guruparam-parâprabhâva* respectively, and some well-known works of the *Sangam* period, supply, though sparingly, some historical data to work upon. Of the latter class, the *Pattinappâtai* is exclusively devoted to the life of the reputed king Karikâla who had the banks of the Kâvêrî constructed by his vassal kings and who is said to have set his foot over the crowns of the Pândya and the Chêra². In chapter V of his *Tamils*, 1800 years ago, Mr Kanakasabhai Pillai has collected all that is available in literature regarding the early Chôla kings of whom he mentions about eight. Karikâla was the most famous of them. It was he that changed his capital from Urayûr to Kâvirippûmpattinam, erected banks on either side of the river Kâvêrî, dug irrigation canals and patronised poets. After defeating the Pândyas and the Chêras, he contracted diplomatic marriage relations with the latter and political alliance with the former³. The *Kalavali*⁴ or 'the Battle-field', a poem written by the poet Poygaiyâr, describes the fight at Kalumalam between the Chôla king Chengannân or Kôchchengannân and the Chêra king Kanaikkâl Irumporai, wherein the latter is stated to have been defeated and imprisoned by the

¹ See *Epigraphical Reports* of the Madras Presidency for the years 1907 and onwards. Mr K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer has shown that the language of these inscriptions is Tamil and has interpreted them as such. See pages 275 to 300 of the *Proceedings and transactions of the Third Oriental Conference*, Madras, 1924.

² See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLI, pp. 146 ff.

³ This king, Karikâla, has been assigned to the 5th century A.D., see below, p. 4.

⁴ This poem has been ascribed to the 6th or 7th century A.D. by Kanakasabhai Pillai.

former but released through the intervention of the poet Poygaiyâr whose poem had such good effect on the victorious Chôla that he granted the request of the poet, viz, the release of the Chêra king Chengannân is called the king of the 'country watered by the river Kâvêri' The same event is also referred to in the later poem, the *Kalingattupparam* which describes the conquest of Kalinga by Kulôttunga-Chôla I. Epigraphical records describe Kôchchengannân as a fervent devotee of Śiva and as having been freed by that god from the bondage of a spider's body. In the *Peryapurānam*, Kôchchengannân is stated to have been a staunch Śaiva, to have built the temple at Jambukêśvaram in the Trichinopoly district and to have restored many a Śiva temple in the Chôla country from ruin¹ Although a staunch Śaiva himself, Kôchchengannân is stated to have built Vaishnava temples as well. Still another early Chôla king mentioned in literature is Perunatkilli or Perunarkilli who was 'the master of many sciences'

Kôchchengannân and Perunarkilli, according to Mr Kanakasabhai Pillai came to the throne after Karikâla Literature states that Killivalavan, the elder brother of Perunarkilli, married a Nâga princess named Pilivalai during a romantic excursion and obtained by her a son called Tondai The king made this prince the ruler of the Tondai-mandalam and thus even the little power that might have been wielded by the Chôlas in the northern part of their vast dominions went out of their hands Tondai and his descendants are known in later history as Pallavas (Tondaiyarkôn) It is significant that the destruction of the capital town of Kâvirippūmpattinam happened during the reign of Killivalavan Of Kôchchengannân, the Vaishnava saint Tirumangai-Âlvâr of the 8th century A D says that he built 70 temples for Vishnu This makes Kôchchengannân anterior to Tirumangai-Âlvâr.

The *Peryapurānam* mentions other Chôla kings and chiefs such as Pugalchôla-Nâyanâr, Idangali-Nâyanâr and Kûrruva-Nâyanâr who are not referred to in epigraphical records.

The vague memory with which the authors of the copper-plate records refer to the three early Chôla kings is sufficient evidence to show that at the commencement of the 10th century A D, the probable date of the earliest of these records, their names carried with them no more significance than the other legendary names in the earlier portion of the genealogical list It is surprising also that references to their rule and to their battles are rarely, if at all, found in the thousands of Chôla inscriptions distributed over almost every part of the Chôla country While thus the political status of these early Chôla kings was altogether forgotten at the commencement of their revival in the end of the 9th century A D, their devotion to Śaivism which preceded this revival and their actual participation in its propaganda are established by the stories about them related in the *Peryapurānam*

Of the epigraphical records, the Anbil plates of Sundara-Chôla (Parântaka II) mention Kôchchengannân as the builder of Śiva temples in various parts of his kingdom² The

¹ Prior to his birth as a king, he was a spider and long served Śiva by weaving a web over the Śivalinga stopping thereby the dry leaves from falling on it The pious spider one day died in an encounter with a white elephant which had regularly been pulling out the web piously woven by it over the head of Śiva The spider, it is stated, one day killed the elephant by biting it in its proboscis and himself also died immediately being dashed to the ground by the dying elephant God Śiva liberated at once the spider from its animal body and blessed it to be born as the Chôla king Kôchchengannân.

² *Ep Ind.*, Vol. XV, p 46.

Tiruvālangādu grant and the large Leyden plates make only a mere mention of him and do not give further details. In the genealogical order, he is placed some time after the famous Karikāla who has been ascribed on other grounds roughly to the end of the 5th century A.D. Perhaps Kōchchengannān was also like Karikāla a famous Chōla king of about that period¹, but unlike him he had a religious turn of mind. The Chōlas in the time of Karikāla must have still been a powerful independent race in their native country.

The Leyden plates, the Tiruvālangādu grant, the Anbil plates of Sundara-Chōla and the Kanyākumārī inscription of Vīrarājendra-Chōla are the only epigraphical records discovered and published so far, that give genealogical lists of Chōla kings². These do not supply us with any other facts about the earlier members of the dynasty than what has been already gathered from literature. The mythical pedigree, in these records, which traces the Chōlas to the Sun includes such Purāṇic and legendary names as those of Manu, Ikshvāku, Prithu, Māndhātṛi, Muchukunda, Śibi, etc., and the eponymous Chōla (son of Bharata) after whom the race received the name Chōla³. One of the legendary kings mentioned in the Kanyākumārī record, *viz.*, Pañchapa is stated to have acquired that name by his affording protection to five Yakshas. Suraguru was another who earned the title Mrityujit, by conquering even the god of Death. Vyāghrakētu was still another from whom the Chōlas evidently borrowed the banner of the tiger. All the kings so far enumerated, lived 'in ages prior to the Kaliyuga'. To the Kaliyuga itself belonged Karikāla, the builder of the banks of the Kāvērī and the renewer of the town of Kāñchī, Kōchchengannān, the fervent devotee of Śiva, who was freed by that god from the bondage of a spider's body and who much influenced the revival of Śaivism in Southern India and Perunatkili. What then could have been the reason for the fact that the doings of these famous Chōla kings, whose constant feuds with the Pāndyas and the Chēras or their diplomatic alliances with either of them are so elaborately described by contemporaneous Tamil poets, faded away from the memory of the panegyrists of Sundara-Chōla (Parāntaka II), Rājārāja I and Rājendra-Chōla I?⁴ We have perhaps to suppose that between Karikāla, whose time has been fixed to be about the end of the 5th century A.D., and Vijayālaya of the 9th century, the Chōlas must have become so entirely degenerate⁵ as even to lose their identity

¹ See Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar's '*Some Contributions of Southern India to Indian Culture.*'

² The Udayēndiram Plates of Prithvipati II (*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, pp. 382 ff.) also supply a genealogical account of the Chōla kings. But the information given here is not so full as in the other plates, the apparent reason being that the Chōla genealogy therein is introduced only incidentally.

³ The Kanyākumārī record gives a fanciful account of this king Chōla suggesting that he was the first to bring Brāhmanas from Āryāvarta and settle them on the banks of the Kāvērī. In early Tamil literature, we find no mention of the dynastic name Chōla or its variants. How and when it came into use has yet to be inquired into. Its mention in the form Chōda as applied to a kingdom bordering on the dominions of Aśoka, the name *Chukye* given by Hsien Tsiang to a district of the Telugu country, the title Chōla-Mahārāja found in some Telugu records of the 9th century A.D., the name Śōla occurring in the Singhalese chronicle *Mahāvamsa* and in some early Kannada inscriptions of the Nolambas, the Śōnādu, (a contraction of Śōla-nādu) found in the *Pattinappālai* are the only references so far available with which we may connect the modern name Chōla.

⁴ It is inferred from statements made in literature that Karikāla must have been, at the best, only an usurper and that among the kings who may have succeeded him, there was much of disunion and discontent. This was apparently the reason why they soon disappeared before the advancing Pallavas and the Pāndyas.

⁵ Internal disputes and revolts during the time of Killivalavan are referred to in the *Śilappadigāram*. He is also stated in the *Aganāṇṇūru* to have advanced against Madura and to have been defeated there.

owing perhaps to the rise of the Pallavas of Conjeeveram on the one side and to the pushing inroads of the Pândyas on the other. The Madras Museum Plates of Uttama-Chôla¹ refer to a hall in the temple of Ūragam at Conjeeveram named Karikâla-terri probably after Karikâla. The defeat of the unnamed Pândya king at Vennil by Karikâla might be established if we compare this statement with the genealogical account of the Pândya dynasty given in the Vêlvikudî and the Śinnamanûr plates. About the end of the 5th century A D the period of Karikâla's rule, the Pândyas appear to have been politically weak and the Pândya country itself is said to have been usurped by the Kalabhras. With the rise of Kadungôn² in that family, the Pândyas are said to have revived and spread their power. Karikâla's descendants in the bordering Chôla country were not evidently able to withstand the onrush of the Pândyas and accordingly abandoned their ancestral dominions for about 300 years at least, after Karikâla, until Vijayâlâya once again, about the end of the 9th Century A D, recaptured Tañjâvûr and established his sway over the ancestral Chôla dominions. It is suggested that during this exile the Chôlas might have ruled as petty chiefs in the south-western part of the Telugu country and given rise there to a new family of Telugu kings of Chôla origin, whom Mr Venkayya calls Telugu-Chôlas and who in their records claim descent from the solar race and count Karikâla as one of their famous ancestors.

A satisfactory working basis for the history of the Pallavas, the Pândyas and the revived Chôlas may be considered as fairly supplied, though, in the case of the second of these, abundant material available for the medieval period from the twelfth to the fifteenth century has not been sufficiently represented and much of the written history of the first is found distributed over various antiquarian books and journals. While, therefore, giving a full bibliography for the study of the first, and drawing special attention in this connection to the Sanskrit work *Muttavilâsa-Prahasana* composed by the great Pallava king Mahêndra-varman I, about the beginning of the 7th century A D, I propose to put together in the following pages a detailed account of the Chôlas of Tanjore as far as it could be gathered mainly from the inscriptions included in the first three volumes of the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, and collating, of course, where necessary, information from other available sources. All that could be said of the early Pândyas is found *infra* in the historical introduction to the two Śinnamanûr plates.

BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR THE HISTORY OF THE PALLAVA DYNASTY

- (1) Inscriptions of the Pallava Dynasty in *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, Part I (pp 1 to 33)
- (2) A Pallava grant from Kûram, *ibid.* Part IV, Addenda No 151
- (3) Inscriptions of the Pallava Dynasty, *ibid.* Vol II, Nos 72, 73, 74, 98 and 99.
- (4) A Prâkrit grant of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman, *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume I, No 1.
- (5) Two cave inscriptions from the Trisîrâpalli (Trichinopoly) rock, *ibid.*, No 9.
- (6) A Plate of a Pallava copper-plate grant, *ibid.* No. 45 (See also *ibid.* Vol. II, No 40)

¹ *Below*, No 128, and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol LIV, p 72.

² See the Vêlvikudî grant published in *Ep Ind.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 291—309.

(7) Udayêndiram plates of Nandivarman , *ibid*, Vol III No. 23 (See also *ibid*) No. 38-A).

(8) Mahêndravâdi inscription of Gunabhara , *ibid*, Vol IV, No. 19.

(9) Inscriptions at Kîl-Muttugûr and Âmbûr , *ibid*, Nos 22 and 23

(10) Jaina rock-inscriptions at Pañchapândavamalai , *ibid*, No 14-A

(11) Râyakôta plates of Skandaśishya , *ibid*, Vol V, No 8.

(12) Mayîdavôlu plates of Śivaskandavarman ; *ibid*, Vol. VI, No. 8

(13) Two cave inscriptions at Śîyamangalam , *ibid*, No. 32

(14) Three Memorial stones , *ibid*, Vol VII, No 4

(15) A rock inscription at Tandalam , *ibid*, No. 5

(16) Inscriptions at Tirukkôvalûr , *ibid*, No 20, A, B and C.

(17) Inscriptions at Śôlapuram , *ibid*, No 26-A and B.

(18) British Museum plates of Chârudêvi ; *ibid*, Vol VIII, No 12.

(19) Pîkira grant of Simhavarman , *ibid*, No 15

(20) Chendalûr plates of Kumâravishnu II ; *ibid*, No 23

(21) Triplicane inscription of Dantivarman , *ibid*, No. 29 (See also *ibid*, Vol. IX, No. 10).

(22) The Pallava inscriptions of the Seven Pagodas , *ibid*, Vol. X, No 1.

(23) Tiruvellarai inscription of Dantivarman , *ibid*, Vol XI, No. 15 (See also *ibid*. Nos. 22 and 35)

(24) Two cave inscriptions at Dalavânûr , *ibid*, Vol XII, No 27 (also see *ibid*, No 28).

(25) Uruvupalli grant , *Ind Ant* , Vol V, pp 50 ff (See also the Ahole inscription in the same volume, p. 67)

(26) Mângadûr grant ; *ibid* pp 154 ff

(Fa Hian's Kingdom of Dakshina, *ibid*. Vol VII, pp. 1 ff)

(See contemporaneous history of Gangas, Bânas, Kadambas, Râshtrakûtas and Western Châlukyas)

(27) Bâdâmi Pallava inscription , *Ind Ant* , Vol IX, p 99 f _

(28) Pallava grant of Vijaya-Buddhavarman *ibid*. p 100 f

(29) Pallava grant of Attivarman , *ibid* p 102 f

(30) Grant of Nandivarman Pallavamalla , *ibid* Vol VIII, pp 273 ff.

(31) The Chalukyas and Pallavas , *ibid*. pp 23 ff

(32) Grant of the Pallava king Nandivarman , *ibid* pp 167 ff

(33) The probable age of some Pallava remains , *ibid*. Vol. XVII, p 30 f (Pallavas and Prâkrit , *ibid* XXXIII, p 170).

(34) Two Pallava copper-plate grants , *Ep Ind* , Vol XV, pp 246 ff.

(35) Pallavas (the later) in Nellore , *Ind Ant* , Vol XXXVIII, p 85.

(36) Pallava antiquities in two volumes by Jouveau Dubreuil

(37) The Ancient History of Conjeeveram in the *Sketches of Ancient Dekkan* by K. V. S. Aiyar.

In publishing his paper on the *yûpa* inscriptions of king Mûlavarman from Koetei (East Borneo), Dr. J Ph Vogel throws out a suggestion that there might have existed a direct intercourse between the ancient Pallava capital Kâñchî and the Archipelago. It is a well known fact that Siam, Annam, Cambodia, Java and Borneo abound in antiquities of Indian origin (See Book VIII in Fergusson's History of Indian and Eastern Architecture)

The revived line of the Chôlas begins with Vijayâlaya who is distinguished by the title Parakêsarivarman. There are copper and lithic records which though not referring directly to his rule, mention him as a Chôla king who had well established himself on the Chôla throne. The Uttama-Chôla plates already referred to in connection with Karikâla mention the 22nd year of a Parakêsarivarman different from the later Parakêsarivarman Parântaka I, 'who took Madirai and Îlam' (also referred to in the same inscription). Evidently the earlier Parakêsa is Vijayâlaya to whom also under the same title are attributed two stone records from the Kailâsanâtha temple at Conjeeveram¹ and another from Ukkal.

The Tiruvâlangâdu plates state that Vijayâlaya captured the city of Tañjâvûr and made it his capital and that he also built in it a temple to the goddess Nisumbhasûdanî (Durgâ). The Kanyâkumârî inscription states that he constructed the city of Tañjâpurî anew. Nos 672 to 675 and 1071 of Prof Kielhorn's "*Lists of Inscriptions of Southern India*" are attributed to Vijayâlaya. These come from Conjeeveram, Ukkal, Tirukkôvalûr and Śuchîndram. The first three are places in Tondai-mandalam and the fourth is in the Pândya kingdom outside the limits of the Chôla country.

If the resuscitation of the new Chôla line of Tanjore was due to the conquests of Vijayâlaya and its expansion in the north and south to those of his son Âditya I and his grandson Parakêsarivarman Parântaka I, respectively, it is highly improbable that the records mentioned above could be attributed to the founder Vijayâlaya. Probably they are to be assigned to Parakêsarivarman Parântaka I.

It is not stated in any of the records, who the enemy was from whom Tanjore was wrested by Vijayâlaya. About the middle of the 8th century A D Tanjore and the surrounding country was under the rule of the Muttaraiyan chiefs. In the Śendalai Pillar inscription of Perumbidugu Muttaraiyan, the latter is styled "the king Mâran, the Lord of Tañjai (*Kô-Mâran-rañjai-kkôn*) and *Kalvar-Kalvan*², *Tañjai-nar-pugal-âlan*, a Kalva of Kalvas, the distinguished Lord of Tañjai." In another place the following phrase occurs "*nirkinra tanpanai-tôrum Tañjai-ttiram pâchi mnrâr*" "they (the cultivators) stood in the fields praising the excellence of the city of Tañjai"³. These extracts show that in the 8th century Tanjore was ruled by a family of chiefs known as the Muttarayans. From the title Mâran which Perumbidugu Muttaraiyan held, it may be gathered that he was either of Pândya descent or was a chief, subordinate to that family. At this time there was a great struggle going on between the Pallavas and the Pândyas for the political supremacy of South India. In this disturbed state of affairs, Vijayâlaya seems to have found a good opportunity to defeat the Muttaraiyan chiefs, and make himself the ruler of Tanjore and the surrounding Chôla country.

¹ Kielhorn's *Southern List*, Nos. 672 and 673

² *Ep Ind*, Vol. XIII, pp 143 and 144. It is very likely that in the title Kalvar-Kalvan we have to seek the origin of the name Kalabhra. Perhaps Perumbidugu Muttaraiyan was a member of the latter family which in the Vêlvikudi plates is said to have held the Pândya country under its sway prior to Kaṇṇigōṇ.

³ *Ep Ind*, Vol XIII, p 141

Âditya I, the son of Vijayâlaya, was the first great Chôla king that extended or rather recovered the ancestral dominions by the conquest of Tondai-mandalam. This event is referred to in the Tiruvâlangâdu plates as follows :—

“Having conquered in battle the Pallava king Aparâjita who possessed a brilliant army, though he was in name Aparâjita (i.e., unconquered) he (i.e., Âditya) took possession of his (i.e., Aparâjita's) beloved country and thus fulfilled the object of his desire.”¹

The Pallava king Aparâjita, allying himself with the Ganga king Prithivîpati I, fought a battle at Śrîpurambiyam, against the Pândya Varaguna, in which he defeated the latter though his ally lost his life in the conflict. Aparâjita's epigraphical records being found in the Tondai country up to his eighteenth year, Âditya's conquest of Aparâjita and the invasion of the Pallava dominions must have taken place only after that date. Âditya's occupation of Tondai-mandalam is confirmed by an inscription at Tirukkalukkunram² (Chingleput district) dated in the 27th year of Râjakêsarivarman Âditya I which ratifies a grant that was formerly made by the Pallava king Skandaśishya and renewed by “Vâtâpikonda Naraśingappôttaraiyar” (identified by Mr V Venkayya with the Pallava king Narasimhavarman I, the conqueror of Vâtâpi).

Again a record of the 24th year of Âditya³ found at Niyamam mentions a grant made by Adigal Gandan Mârambâvai, queen of Nandippôttaraiyar of the *Pallavahlaka* family. The fact that the Pallava queen made a grant in the reign of the Chôla king, suggests that the Pallavas had been completely subdued by this time, and that Nandippôttaraiyar, the husband of Mârambâvai, was also dead. The conquest of the Tondai-mandalam earned for Âditya the epithet “*Tondai-nâdu-pâvina* Râjakêsarivarman”, i.e., Râjakêsarivarman who overran Tondai-nâdu, which is given him in an inscription at Tillasthânam.

Friendly relations appear to have existed between the Chêras and the Chôlas in the reign of Âditya I. In the Tillasthânam record mentioned above, a certain Vikki Annaṇ is stated to have received royal honours from Âditya, as well as from his Chêra contemporary Sthânu Ravi⁴.

The Anbil plates of Sundara-Chôla give Âditya the surname Râjakêsarin only and state that he built for Śiva, large number of temples on either side of the river Kâvêri commencing from the Sahya mountain where the river takes its rise right up to the sea where it pours its waters⁵.

The Kayâkumâri inscription supplies us with the information that Âditya was also known by the surname Kôdandarâma. In later times, this same title was borne by his grandson, prince Râjâditya.

The conquest of the Kongu country by the Chôlas, should also have taken place in the reign of Âditya I. Inscriptions of Parântaka I, the son of Âditya, are found in the

¹ Below, p. 419. The Kanyâkumâri inscription states that he killed the Pallava king (perhaps) Aparâjita himself being seated on a mad elephant.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 277. Another inscription in a natural cave at Vedâl in the North Arcot district and still another at Nerkuniam in the same district have been attributed to Âditya I.

³ Below, p. 226.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 221.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 50.

Kongu-dêśa but that monarch does not make any claim to have conquered it. Therefore it is not improbable that the conquest of Kongu was achieved by Âditya himself¹

In an inscription at Tirumâlpuram (Tirumâlpêr) dated in the 14th year of the later Chôla king Âditya II, Karikâla, king Parântaka I and his predecessor Âditya I, distinguished by the epithet "Tondaimânârrûr-tuñjina-udaiyâr" (i.e., the king who died at Tondaimânârrûr), are referred to. The place Tondaimânârrûr has been identified by Mr V Venkayya with Tondamanâd near Kâlahasti in the North Arcot district². In this village there still exists a temple called Kôdandarâmêśvara, also mentioned in its inscriptions by the name Âdityêśvara. In one of the Tondamanâd inscriptions reference is made to a "*pallippadar*" (i.e., a shrine built over or near a burial ground) apparently at the same village. It is evident, therefore, that Âditya died at Tondaimânârrûr near Kâlahasti and that his son Parântaka I built a Śiva temple over his ashes³. On the whole, it appears that Âditya had a long and victorious reign during which he laid the foundation of the future greatness of the Chôla empire.

Though a Śaiva himself, Âditya seems to have been tolerant of other religions as proved by his Vedâl inscription (No. 92). In his time provision for repairs of tanks proved a special item of charity (No. 93). Sarvajñâtman, the pupil of Surêśvarâchârya and a pupil's pupil of the great Śamkarâchârya, wrote his *Saṁkshêpaśârîraka* under the patronage of a certain Manukulâditya. It is not unlikely that the king here referred to is Âditya I (who ruled about Śaka 800) of the Manukula (i.e., the Chôla family⁴); cf. names like Manukulachûlâmani-chaturvêdimangalam which occur in inscriptions. The latest year of Âditya found from inscriptions being his 27th and the accession of his successor derived from astronomical calculations being 907 A.D. it may be inferred that Âditya I ruled from at least 879 to 907 A.D.

Âditya, as stated above, was succeeded by his son Parakêśarivarman Parântaka I. Prof. Kielhorn, by calculating the astronomical details of date furnished in one of his inscriptions from Grâmam (North Arcot district), has come to the conclusion that Parântaka I began to reign between the 15th January and 25th July A.D. 907⁵. This is confirmed by the details of date combined with a total eclipse of the sun given in the Ânaimalai inscription of his 33rd year (No. 106). He continued the expansion of the Chôla dominions which was begun by his father. In the north, he fought against the Vaidumbas and the Bânas who were formerly the feudatories of the Pallavas. The Bânas were defeated and their territory was bestowed upon the Ganga king Prithivîpati II, along with the title "the Lord of the Bânas". The Udayêndiram plates⁶ of Prithivîpati II give us an account of his connection with the Bânas and the Gangas.

From his third year onwards Parântaka is called "Maduraikonda Parakêśarivarman" (i.e., Parakêśarivarman who took Madura) in his inscriptions. This title he assumed after

¹ The *Kongudêśa-âjâkkal* confirms this.

² *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1907, pp. 71 and 72.

³ This temple deserves to be one of the specially protected monuments of the Archaeological Department.

⁴ See Dr. Bhandarkar's *History of the Deccan*, p. 212.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 260 ff.

⁶ *Above*, Vol. II, p. 375 ff.

his first victory over the Pândyas. It has been already suggested that prior to the rise of the Chôlas to political supremacy in Southern India, the Pallavas and the Pândyas were the dominant powers in the land

After the Pallavas had been subverted by Âditya I, the Chôlas had to deal with the Pândyas of Madura, before they could claim undisputed sway over the whole of the Southern Peninsula. The power of the Pândyas had by this time grown weak. King Varagunavarman was defeated by the Pallava king Aparâjita at the battle of Śrîpurambiyam and there were also internal dissensions among the Pândyas which weakened their power.

Early therefore, in his reign, Parântaka seems to have conducted campaigns in the Pândya country against Râjasimha-Pândya, the last king of the Pândya line furnished in the Śinnamanûr plates¹, when Madura, the capital of the Pândyas, was captured by him and this gave him the occasion for assuming the title *Madirakonda*. The Kanyâ-kumârî record says that Parântaka "killed the Pândya with his whole army, robbed him of all his wealth, reduced Madhurâ to ashes and assumed the name Madhurântaka." Verse 9 of the Udayêndram plates of the Ganga-Bâna king Prithivîpati II seems to refer to this event in the following words²:—

"His army having crushed at the head of a battle the Pândya king together with an army of elephants, horses and soldiers seized a herd of elephants, together with Madura"

The Chôla king naturally was very proud of this achievement, as the Pândyas were, till then, the dominant power in the Tamil land the hereditary dominions of the Chôlas themselves being under them. As his first campaign against the Pândyas is referred to in inscriptions of his third year, this event must have taken place in A.D. 909-10. The Vattelettu inscription at Âpaimalai, 6 miles from Madura, confirms Parântaka's capture of Madura and perhaps also his temporary occupation of it.

Before his 12th year, Parântaka I had to fight a second time with the Pândyas. An inscription³ dated in the 12th year of his reign mentions a battle fought by him at Vêlûr against the combined forces of the Pândyas and Singhalese. When the Pândya king Râjasimha was defeated by the Chôla king in his first campaign, he appears to have besought the Singhalese king to take up his cause. The Tiruvâlangâdu plates say in this connection:—

"Encircled by the first of whose (i.e., the Chôla king's) prowess, the Pândya king at once entered the sea, as if intent upon quenching that affliction, in haste abandoning his royal glory and his hereditary dominion" (V 51). Again, the Udayêndram plates of the 15th year of Parântaka describe the events that followed in these words:— "Having slain in an instant, at the head of a battle, an immense army despatched by the Lord of Lankâ which teemed with brave soldiers (and) was interspersed with troops of elephants and horses, he bears, in the world, the title Sangrâmarâghava which is full of meaning²." This was, perhaps, "the fierce battle" fought at Vêlûr between Perumânadigal (i.e., Parântaka I) and the allied Pândya and Ceylon kings where four heroes fell on the occasion when Sennippêraraiyan of Araisûr made a frontal attack with his colleagues' enemy, as described in the Tiruppârkadal record (No 99).

¹ See below, No. 206.

² *South Ind. Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 387.

³ Below, p. 231.

Turning to the Ceylonese account, *Mahāvamsa*, we find these events corroborated. Chapter LII of that work contains the following account: "King Pāṇḍu, who had warred with the king of Chōla and was routed, sent many presents unto him (i.e., Kassapa V), that he might obtain an army from him and the king, the chief of Lankā, took counsel with his ministers and equipped an army and appointing Sakkasēnāpati to the command thereof, accompanied it himself to Mahatittha, and he stood on the shore and brought to their minds the victories of former kings, and gave them courage, and thus sent them into the ships. And Sakkasēnāpati carried them safely to the other side of the sea, and reached the Pāṇḍya country and when king Pāṇḍu beheld the army and the captain thereof, he was greatly pleased, and exclaimed, 'All Jambudvīpa shall I now bring under the canopy of one dominion' and then he led the two armies (his own and the Singhalese king's) to battle. But he succeeded not in conquering the king of the Chōlian race and so he abandoned the struggle and returned (to his own place). The statement here made that the Pāṇḍya king had been defeated in a previous war might refer to the events that took place in or before the third year of Parāntaka I, i.e., A.D. 909. It is also not unlikely that there was still another war between the first and the second encounters here described. These events happened in the reign of Kassapa V who, according to the chronology of the *Mahāvamsa*, reigned from A.D. 906 to 916.

Parāntaka I seems to have undertaken yet another campaign in the Pāṇḍya country, and carried his arms farther even to the island of Ceylon. After his 37th regnal year, he is styled "*Madirayum Īlamum konda Parakēsarivarman*", i.e., Parakēsarivarman who took Madura and Ceylon. This title was not adopted by him on the occasion of his victory over the allied Singhalese troops described above. The epithet "*Madirayum Īlamum konda*" was adopted only after the 37th year as we gather from inscriptions. A record at Kūram dated in his fortieth year¹ mentions that he actually entered Ceylon (*Īlam-pugunda*). The Truvālangādu plates refer to this same fact in the following terms:—

"The fire of whose anger after burning (his) enemies quenched not in the waters of the sea, (but) subsided (only) by the tears of the wives of the Singhalese (king) who was cut to pieces and killed by (his) weapons" (V. 52).

The account of this invasion of Ceylon by Parāntaka is referred to in the *Mahāvamsa* as follows —

In the reign of Udaya III (A.D. 941-9) who was a weak king addicted to drink and slothfulness, the Chōla king sent an embassy to him, asking for the crown, etc., that the Pāṇḍya king had deposited with him in the reign of Dappula V (A.D. 917 to 929) evidently after the defeat of Vēlūr, so that he may be duly inaugurated as the overlord of the Pāṇḍya country. When this request was refused, the Chōla king sent an army to Ceylon, which slew the commander of the Singhalese forces. The Singhalese king fled to the Rōhana district, taking with him the regal insignia of the Pāṇḍya king. The Chōlas were not able to enter the Rōhana country, and returned to India, without accomplishing the object for which the expedition was undertaken. As Parāntaka's invasion of Ceylon happened only after his 37th year, i.e., A.D. 944, the above account of the *Mahāvamsa* must correctly refer to the conquest of Īlam (Ceylon) by Parāntaka².

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 1.

² *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, p. 525.

Towards the close of his reign, Parântaka I seems to have received a check to his victorious career at the hands of the Râshtrakûta king Krishna III. The latter king's invasion of the Chôla country and the capture of Tanjore and Conjeeveram must have taken place during the lifetime of Parântaka. For, Parântaka's son, prince Râjâditya who was the Viceroy in the northern Chôla dominions and was the first to oppose the invader was killed at Takkôlam while fighting from the back of an elephant, by the Gaṅga prince Bûtuga, an ally and a near kinsman of Krishna III. The Kanyâkumârî inscription of Virarâjendra states that Krishna III was actually defeated by Parântaka I. This might refer to an earlier campaign other than the one in which Râjâditya lost his life and the capital towns Kâñchî (Conjeeveram) and Tañjâvûr (Tanjore) belonging to the Chôla king were captured by the Râshtrakûta invader. The last regnal year so far found out for Parântaka is 46, which is taken from a record of his found at Kandyûr¹. This corresponds to A.D. 953-54. Krishna III is said to have died in the Śaka year 889² and his highest known regnal year is 30. Consequently, he should have ascended the throne at least in Śaka 859 (= 937 A.D.). Dr. Fleet's earliest date for him is 940. He had invaded the Tondai-mandalam before his fifth year as an inscription of his, of that year, is found at a place called Siddhahñgamadam. Râjâditya's death occurred in the year 949 to 950 A.D. and the actual entry of Krishna III into Tondai-mandalam is mentioned in a Śôlapuram record³ which states that the second year of that entry corresponded to Śaka 871 (= 949 A.D.). Perhaps the years quoted in Kannara-Krishna's Tamil inscriptions must be taken to count from 949 A.D. Therefore, we may come to the conclusion that prior to 949 Krishna III was making attempts to invade the Chôla country and that in one of these he was repelled by Parântaka. About this time, Parântaka, as we already know, had his hands full with the affairs of the Pândyan and Singhalese wars. In the meanwhile, the Râshtrakûta king seems to have pushed through his hostilities vigorously which resulted in the death of the prince. Parântaka seems to have survived his son for about five years.

Parântaka's dominions comprised almost the whole of the Tamil country right up to Nellore (No 108). By the defeat of the Pândya king Râjasimha, the Pândyas also acknowledged Parântaka as their ruler. That he really held sway over that part of the country is proved by the fact that his inscriptions are found in the Madura and Tinnevely districts. On the east coast, his dominions should have extended as far as Nellore, for one of his Tiruvorriyûr records (No 108), dated in the 34th year of his reign (= A.D. 941), states that a subordinate of Parântaka named Śembiyan Śôlhyavaraiyan of Sirukulattûr was returning from the conquest of Śîtpulî after destroying Nellûr. In the west an inscription of his reign has been found at Sômûr near Karur. The Western Ganga king Prithivîpati II, whose dominions lay partly in the Mysore State, was his feudatory⁴. The friendly relations that existed between the Chêras and the Chôlas as already gathered from the Tilla-sthânam inscription of Âditya I (No 89) were further strengthened during this reign. One of the queens of Parântaka who bore him the son Ariñjaya was a daughter of the Kêrala prince Paluvêttaraiyar⁵. Queen Villavan Mahâdêviyâr mentioned in a Tirukkalâvûr inscription

¹ No. 2 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1895.

² No. 236 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1913.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 195.

⁴ *Archæological Survey Report* for 1904-05, p. 133.

⁵ Anbil grant of Sundara-Chôla (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 50).

(No 110) may be identical with this daughter of Paluvêttaraiyar. Two other queens of Parântaka I were Kilânadigal or Kôkkilânadigal, the mother of Ânamêrruñjânâr Râjâditya and Âdittan Karrahppirâtî. In the Grâmam inscription of Parântaka¹, mention is made of a general of prince Râjâditya, who came from the Kêrala country. Several of the Tirunâmânallûr inscriptions also mention natives of Malabar as the personal servants of prince Râjâditya. It appears that he had a special regiment of soldiers or a class of servants called the "Malayâla retinue". Princess Ravi-Nîh, the daughter of the Chêra king Vijayarâgadêva, is reported to have made some offerings to the temple at Tiruvorriyûr in the Chôla country². All these facts go to prove that the relations between the Kêralas and the Chôlas during the reign of Parântaka were of a very cordial nature, and that there was a steady influx of people from Malabar to the Tamil country.

Though this king was engaged for the greater part of his long reign in warlike operations, yet he was not unmindful of the victories of peace. That the internal administration of his country was a matter in which he took a keen interest, is amply proved by the inscriptions of Uttaramallûr, in which the rules for the conduct of the village assemblies were minutely laid down. The village institutions of South India, of course, date from a much earlier period than that of Parântaka I, but he introduced many salutary reforms for the proper administration of local self-Government.

Nor was the religious side neglected. Many a temple in the Tamil land owed much to his bounty. The booty which he had acquired in his numerous wars he seems to have spent in embellishing the shrine of Natarâja at Chidamdaram. The Tiruvâlaṅgâdu plates say that he covered with gold the "small hall" at Chidambaram. He performed the *tuḷâbhâra* and *hêmagarbha* gifts, made grants of land to Brahmins, and built many temples. He was a devout Śaiva in religion, though in accordance with the laudable custom among most of the great Indian monarchs, he was tolerant of all the other creeds that were prevailing within his dominions.

In addition to the surnames which have been already noticed he bore the epithets Vîranârâyana, Vîrakîrti (No 108), Vîra-Chôla, Vikrama-Chôla and Irumadi-Śôla³. We learn from the Uttaramallûr inscriptions that he also bore the following *birudas*.—Dêvêndran (lord of the gods), Chakravartin (the emperor), Panditavatsalan (fond of learned men), Kuñjaramallan (the wrestler with elephants) and Śûrachûlâmanî (the crest jewel of the heroes). He is also said to have resembled the celestial tree in his gifts. One of his sons, Râjâditya, has been already mentioned. Kôdandarâma was a surname of this prince as it was of his grandfather Âditya I. The second son of Parântaka was Gandarâditya, who figures as the author of one of the hymns in the Tamil *Tiruvîsaippâ*. Arikulakêšari, Arindama or Ariñjaya (Ariñjagai in Tamil) was also another of his sons. A still another son of Parântaka who figures in inscriptions is Parântakan Uttamaśîli. He does not appear to have lived long enough to succeed to the Chôla throne, but appears to have given his name to the village Uttamaśîli-chaturvêdimangalam in Vilâ-nâdu and to the irrigation canal called Uttamaśîli-vâykal.

¹ *Archæological Survey Report* for 1905-06

² *Below*, p 235

³ *Irumadi* or correctly *Irmadi* means 'twice' and the epithet signifies that Parântaka I was the 'second great king in the family,' the first perhaps being his father Âditya I.

From the death of Parântaka I., which must have occurred about the year A D 953, to the accession of the great Râjarâja I in A.D 985, Chôla history is obscure. During this period of 33 years there were five princes who must have occupied the throne. The irregular order of their succession suggests that there must have been internal feuds among the different members of the royal family. We have seen above that the eldest son of Parântaka I, prince Râjâditya, lost his life in the battle of Takkôlam before the death of his father. Therefore, this prince could not have reigned over the Chôla dominions, though it is stated in the Leyden plates that he became king after Parântaka I. It is significant that the Tiruvâlangâdu grant does not make him a ruler.

Parântaka I was perhaps succeeded by his second son Râjakêsarivarman Gandarâditya. Some inscriptions of a "Madirakonda Râjakêsarivarman" have been ascribed to Gandarâditya¹. One of these which is dated in his 8th year (No 112) mentions Âlvâr Arikulakêsaridêva. The epithet Âlvâr is taken to be one of respect. It may also indicate that he was dead at the time. Another is dated in the 17th year of this king. No event of any importance seems to have taken place in his reign. A part of the Chôla dominions must have been under the Râshtrakûtas. The Chôla power was, for the time being, eclipsed. Hence the paucity of inscriptions during his reign. Some religious hymns extant in Tamil under the authorship of Gandarâditya are attributed to him. These show that he must have been a king with a religious bent of mind. Gandarâditya's queen was Udayapirâttyâr *alias* Mâdêvadigalâr Śembiyan Mâdêviyâr who bore him a son called Madhurântaka Uttama-Chôla. At the time of Gandarâditya's death, Uttama-Chôla must have been a young boy, as he was set aside in the order of succession till three kings after Gandarâditya had ruled and died. His mother survived her husband for a long time. She seems to have been a pious lady, as she figures in several inscriptions, making donations to various temples.

If Arikulakêsarî, Arakêsarî, Arinjaya or Arindama, died before the 8th year of Gandarâditya as inferred already, the next king must have been a son of Arikulakêsarî who, as the Anbil plates say, was prince Sundara-Chôla born of a Vaidumba princess. He succeeded to the Chôla throne under the name of Parântaka II., and bore the titles Râjakêsarivarman² and Râjendra. In his stone inscriptions Sundara-Chôla assumes the epithet "*Pândyanachuram-irakkina*", i.e., who caused the Pândya king to enter the forest. The large Leyden grant records that he fought a sanguinary battle at Chêûr, but it does not mention the name of the enemy. It also says that his son Âditya II, while yet a boy, played sportively with Vîra-Pândya, as a lion's cub with an infuriated elephant. Therefore, it may be presumed that Âditya-Karikâla was the chosen heir-apparent and that Sundara-Chôla's adversary mentioned above was the Pândya king Vîra-Pândya. It is also worthy of note that after Parântaka I, Sundara-Chôla was the next king that fought with the Pândyas. In an inscription of the reign of Râjarâja I, one of the generals of Sundara-Chôla named Parântakan Śriyavêlâr *alias* Tirukkaṇṇalî Pichchan of Kodumbâlûr is said to have died in a battle-field in Ceylon in the 9th year of *Ponmâlîgar-tuṇjina-dêvar*³, i.e., Parântaka II, the father of Râjarâja I. This campaign in which the general of Sundara-Chôla lost his

¹ Below pp 246 ff

² This title suggests that Sundara-Chôla's actual predecessor or elected predecessor must have been a Parakêsarivarman, and Uttama-Chôla, the son of Gandarâditya, bore this surname but may have been too young at the time to succeed his father.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol XII, pp. 121 ff.

life must have occurred during the reign of the Singhalese king Mahinda IV, in whose reign, as stated in the *Mahāvamsā* (Chapter LIV), there was a fight with Vallabha¹, (i.e., the Chôla king), in which it is stated, that Mahinda's general defeated the Chôla army. The date ascribed by Wijesinha to Mahinda IV does not fit in with the time of Parântaka II., but if we deduct the error of 23 years which, according to Dr Hultzsch has crept into this part of the chronology of the *Mahāvamsā*, Mahinda's reign would fall into the same period as that of Sundara-Chôla². It is interesting to note that the general Śrīyavêlâr or Śrīuvêla was a member of the royal family being the son of the daughter of king Parântaka I who was perhaps identical with the Chôla princess Anupamâ, the queen of Samarâbhirâma of the Irungôla race (No 121). The Anbil plates³ which are dated in the 4th year of this king's reign, mention a Brahman minister of his named Aniruddha-Brahmâdhirâja.

As stated already, Sundara-Chôla is referred to in later Chôla inscriptions as *pon-mâlgatuñjina dêvar*, i.e., the king who died in the golden palace. He was a very powerful ruler, much loved by his subjects. The Tiruvâlangâdu grant says that his subjects believed him to be Manu come to the earth to establish his laws which had become lax under the influence of the Kali age. His queen was Vânavanmahâdêvî⁴ who committed *satî* at the death of her husband. Her daughter Kundavai, who had married a Pallava chief named Vandya-dêvar set up an image of her in the temple at Tanjore.

If Gandarâditya ruled for at least 17 years—that being the latest regnal year obtained from inscriptions for him—and Parântaka I died in 947 A.D., not taking into account the date of a doubtful inscription which gives the 46th year of his reign, the accession of Sundara-Chôla Parântaka II will fall in or about 964 A.D. which coincides with the accession of Udaya III of Ceylon, as given in Wijesinha's translation of the *Mahāvamsā*. Sundara-Chôla's latest year of reign as given in his inscriptions is the 5th. But from a later inscription of the time of Râjarâja I we learn that in the 9th year of Sundara-Chôla Parântaka II a deadly battle was fought in Ceylon, perhaps with Udaya III, in which a general of Sundara-Chôla, by name Śrīyavêlân died. Perhaps, Sundara-Chôla died soon after and we may for the sake of a tentative chronology give him a reign of 10 years. This brings us to A.D. 974.

Between him and Uttama-Chôla, the son of Gandarâditya, must be accommodated Parakêsarivarman Âditya II Karikâla, a son of Sundara-Chôla and elder brother of Râjarâja I, and Pârthivêndravarman, Pârthivêndrâdivarman, Pârthivêndrâdhīpativarman, Pârthivêndra Âdityavarman, Parakêsa Vêndirâdivarman or the Paramamahârâja Râjamârâyar. Both these kings claim the epithet, 'who took the head of Pândya or Vîra-Pândya—evidently the same Pândya king who was at war with Sundara-Chôla Parântaka II—and the title Parakêsarivarman. Inscriptions of the former are very few and found only in the south, the latest regnal year being the 5th. Of the latter, there are many in Tondai-mandalam and the latest regnal year is the 13th. Pârthivêndra Âdityavarman may have been a prince of the royal family and Viceroy of Tondai-mandalam. Âditya Karikâla appears to have been the actual successor. He reigned for 6 years and was succeeded

¹ This is a Sanskritized form of the Tamil word *Valavan* which is synonymous with the word *Chôla*.

² *J R A S.*, 1913, pp. 517 ff

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol XV, pp 44 to 72

⁴ Another queen mentioned in inscriptions was Parântakandêvî—Ammanâr, the daughter of a Chêra king.

in 969 A.D. by Parakēsarivarman Uttama-Chôla, the son of Gandarāditya. The circumstances under which the crown instead of going to Arunmohivarman Râjarâja I, the younger brother of Âditya II Karikâla, went to Uttama-Chôla Madhurântaka are explained in the Tiruvâlangâdu plates.

The successions of Chôla kings from Vijayâlaya to Sundara-Chôla Parântaka II have so far presented no difficulty. The statement of the Tiruvâlangâdu plates regarding the reigns of the princes Râjāditya *alias* Kôdandarâma and Arikulakēsarim *alias* Ariñjiga or Arindama, sons of Parântaka I, cannot be accepted literally. The one died as Viceroy of Tondai-mandalam even before his father and the other during the reign of Gandarāditya. Before, therefore, going on to the reign of Uttama-Chôla, it is necessary to fix approximately at any rate the period of rule of Sundara-Chôla who succeeded Gandarāditya under the surname Râjakēsarivarman¹ and of his son Parakēsarî Âditya II Karikâla. Sundara-Chôla's latest year of reign as given in his inscriptions is the 5th². But we have seen above that in the 9th year of his reign a fierce battle was fought in Ceylon with the king of that island and that the Chôla general Śiriyavêlân fell in it. This shows that Sundara-Chôla should have reigned at least for nine years or roughly ten years, though his dated inscriptions which are later than his 5th year are not forthcoming. When did Sundara-Chôla succeed to the throne?

Parakēsarivarman Âditya II, surnamed Karikâla and Râjarâja I surnamed Arunmohivarman were the two sons of Parântaka II, and Kundavai, his daughter. The Leyden plates say that Âditya II as a boy played sportively in battle with Vîra-Pândya and was his chosen successor to the Chôla throne. In inscriptions he is referred to as Parakēsarivarman who took the head of Vîra-Pândya. It is also stated that he killed the Pândya king in battle and set up his lofty head as a pillar of victory³. He seems to have had a short reign only, as noted in the sequel, and nothing else worthy of note is recorded of him in inscriptions.

We have stated that Parakēsarivaraman Uttama-Chôla Madhurântaka was the son of Gandarāditya and that after the death of his father, he had to wait to ascend the throne till his cousin brother Sundara-Chôla and the latter's son Âditya II Karikâla had reigned and died. It might have been so for the reason that he was an infant at the time of his father's death, or that the troubled state of the country required a man of maturer years at the helm of affairs. At any rate, his claim was set aside for the time being. Contrary to the usual order, according to which he ought to have been a Râjakēsarivarman, his predecessor Âditya II being Parakēsarivarman, he too was called a Parakēsarivarman, evidently because he was the son of a Râjakēsarivarman and succeeded to the throne not by the right he possessed but at the request of his cousin's son Râjarâja I who was the chosen successor. For, according to the Tiruvâlangâdu plates, after the death of Âditya II Karikâla, the people wanted Arunmohivarman his brother to be their king, but that noble prince refused to accept the offer saying that so long as his uncle Uttama-Chôla was desirous of dominion, he would be satisfied with the heir-apparentship⁴.

¹ The adoption of the title Râjakēsarivarman could be explained by saying that the claims of Gandarāditya's chosen successor, viz, his son Parakēsarivarman Uttama-Chôla were temporarily set aside and postponed.

² No. 122, dated in the 14th year of Râjêkēsarivarman has been attributed to Sundara-Chôla Parântaka II, but may more probably belong to the reign of Râjarâja I.

³ See below, p 420, V. 68.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, V. 69.

In the Mahâlingasvâmin temple at Tiruvidaimarudûr, there is an inscription which couples the 13th year of Uttama-Chôla with Kaliyuga 4083 thus yielding 969 A.D. as the initial date of his reign. Uttama-Chôla seems to have reigned for at least 16 years, which is the date quoted in the Madras Museum plates of this king.

Râjarâja's achievements are fully described in the introduction to Volume II by Mr. Venkayya. His son was Râjendra-Chôla I, who was a greater monarch than his father and carried the Chôla arms into regions never penetrated before. During the lifetime of his father he seems to have been entrusted with the affairs of the country. No inscriptions of Râjendra-Chôla prior to his third regnal year are found. Evidently, during these three years, he was ruling as co-regent with his father. According to Professor Kielhorn the reign of Râjendra-Chôla commenced between 27th March and 7th July 1012 A.D.¹

Between the third year and the twelfth he seems to have undertaken and carried out successfully a vast scheme of conquests in many directions. In some at least of these, he merely acted as a deputy of his father. When he ascended the throne he found the Chôla power firmly established. He had only to carry on to its legitimate conclusion the ambitious scheme of expansion started in the previous reign. Before his father Râjarâja could embark on his career of conquests he had to enlist and train up an army, but Râjendra-Chôla had inherited "the great warlike army" whose services are referred to in every inscription. From some of his Tamil inscriptions it is learnt that this army of his was commanded by Śôlamûvêndavêlân and that Narâkkan Râman the commander of Râjarâja's forces and the superintendent of the building operations of the Brihadiśvara temple at Tanjore continued to hold the same office till at least the 32nd year of Râjendra-Chôla.² His inscriptions up to the 5th year mention the conquests of Idaiturai-nâdu, Vanavâsi, Kollippâkkai, Mannakkadakkam and Ceylon. Idaiturai-nâdu has been identified with Ededore "2,000" lying between the rivers Krishnâ and Tungabhadra comprising a large part of the present Raichûr district. Vanavâsi is identical with Banavâsi in the North Kanara district and Kollippâkkai must have been included in the Western Châlukya kingdom somewhere in the Hyderabad State, for it was set on fire by Râjâdhirâja I in the course of a war against Sômesvara I and Vikramâditya VI, and is mentioned as Kollipâke in an inscription of Jayasimha II.³ The capture of Kollippâkkai must have been effected as a result of the war against the Western Châlukya Irivabedanga Satyâśraya conducted under the direct leadership of Râjendra-Chôla while Râjarâja was yet living. A record of Uttattûr states that in this war a certain Râjamalla Muttaraiyan who was placed in charge of the elephant troops was killed while piercing the elephant of Satyâśraya under the orders of the king. This must have happened on the occasion when, according to the Hottûr inscription⁴, "Nûrmaḍi-Chôla" Râjendra (i.e., Râjendra-Chôla I) had collected a force numbering 900,000, had pillaged the whole country, had slaughtered the women, the children and the Brâhmanas, and taking the girls to wife, had destroyed their caste." The Hottûr record is dated in

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 217.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 230.

³ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1912, p. 23

⁴ Dr. Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 438.

⁵ The title 'Nûr-maḍi' "the hundred times (powerful)" implies not that he was the hundredth powerful king in that family but that he was the most powerful.

A.D. 1007, but the *Īttattūr* inscription belongs to the 3rd year (A.D. 1013-14) of Rājendra-Chōla I. We cannot help remarking with regret on the striking infringement of the ancient moralities of war by this king, however great his military achievements were. In place of Mannaikkadakkam the Kanyākumāri inscription states that Rājendra-Chōla made Mānyakhēta the playground for his armies and accordingly it looks as if Mannaikkadakkam is identical with Mānyakhēta, as already suggested by me in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII. Mannai-konda-Chōla seems to be one of the surnames assumed by the king in commemoration of his conquest of Mānyakhēta (also known as Mannaikadakkam or simply Mannai). Under this name a pavilion was erected in the Śiva temple at Tiruvorriyūr¹. In all probability Rājendra-Chōla I had to quell some insurrections in these places.

During the reign of Rājarāja I, the Chōla authority was firmly established over the northern half of Ceylon and this is proved by the existence of his inscriptions there and by the grant of revenues of certain villages in Ceylon to the temple at Tanjore which was built by him. Rājendra-Chōla I claims in his inscriptions "to have seized the crown of the king of Īlam on the tempestuous ocean, the exceedingly fine crown of his queens, the beautiful crown and the pearl necklace of Indra which the king of the South, i.e., the Pāndya had previously deposited with that king of Īlam and the whole of Īla-mandala on the transparent sea." That the Pāndya king deposited his crown and apparel with the king of Ceylon is mentioned in the 53rd chapter of the *Mahāvamśa* and the Pāndya inscriptions mention the necklace of Indra as an heirloom of Pāndya kings. According to the account given in the *Mahāvamśa*, king Mahinda V, in the 36th year of his reign, was captured together with his queen by the Chōla army and sent as prisoner to the Chōla king. Among the booty was the crown that was preserved by inheritance, the priceless diamond bracelet that was a gift of the gods, the sword that could not be broken and the sacred fillet. King Mahinda V died in the 48th year of his accession in the Chōla country after spending twelve years in captivity. So, it becomes clear that Rājendra-Chōla completed the conquest of Ceylon which was begun in the reign of his father. Thereafter for several years Ceylon formed a province of the Chōla empire and was surnamed Mummaḍi-Śōlamandalam, after the well-known surname Mummaḍi-Chōla of Rājarāja I. According to the *Mahāvamśa* these events took place in A.D. 1036, while the Tamil inscriptions show that they must have happened before 1017 A.D. Professor Hultzsch has shown in his article entitled "Contributions to Singhalese chronology" that there is an error of some 23 years in the chronology of this part of the *Mahāvamśa*. Applying this correction, the two accounts which of course refer to the same events, can be made to synchronise.

Between the 5th and the 6th years of Rājendra-Chōla's reign, the province of Malabar was also added to his conquests. The Tiruvālangādu plates state that Rājendra-Chōla appointed his son Chōla-Pāndya as viceroy of the Pāndya country, as well as of the newly conquered Kēraḷa dominions. He seems to have adopted this step seeing that the Pāndyas had ever been a source of trouble to the Chōlas from the time of Parāntaka I. The Chōla-Pāndya viceroy appointed by him has been identified with Jatāvarman Sundara-Chōla-Pāndya whose Mannārkoyil inscription has shown that he was ruling contemporaneously with Rājendra-Chōla I. It may be noted that the appointment of members of the Chōla family as viceroys of conquered territories started by this king was continued in the successive reigns².

¹ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1913, para 24.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol., XI, pp 292 ff.

Between his 7th and 9th years Rājendra-Chôla was engaged in subduing the seven and a half lakhs country of Irattapâdi. This was the country of the Western Châlukya kings ruled over at this time by Jayasimha II (A. D. 1018-1042). In his own inscriptions, Jayasimha claims to have defeated the Chôlas. As both of them boast of having defeated each other, the fact ought to have been either that the success was on both sides alternately or that neither of the two obtained lasting advantage. Along with the Kêralas he is stated to have taken possession of the island of Sândimat. What this island is, is not known.

The inscriptions of his twelfth year mention a number of places which do not appear in the list of conquests mentioned in the records of his ninth year. During these three years, he must have carried on an extensive campaign. He is said to have taken Śakkarakôttam, Maduramandalam, Nâmanaiikkônâṁ, Mâsunidêśam and Pañchappalli; to have defeated a certain Indraratha of the lunar race at Âdinagar and to have taken him and his family captive; to have captured Odda-vishaya and Kôśalai-nâdu; to have defeated Dharmapâla and annexed Dandabutti; to have subdued Ranaśûra of Takkana-Lâdam: to have overcome Gôvmdachandra of Vangâladêśa; to have put to flight Mahîpâla and to have taken Uttara-Lâdam and the Gangâ.

Of the places mentioned here, it may be noted that Sakkarakôttam has been identified by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal with Chakrakôta, 8 miles distant from Râjapura in the Bastar State, which was under the rule of king Dhârâvarsha when Kulôttunga I was the Chôla sovereign. Dr. Hultzsch is of opinion that Maduramandalam is different from the Pândya country and that it must refer to the northern Mathura on the Yamunâ river.¹ Here it may be noted that one of the kings of Râjapura called himself Madhurântakadêva perhaps on account of his capture of Madhurâ. It is not likely that he could have marched against Madhurâ of the south to earn this title. Consequently, it is reasonable to suppose that Madhura or Maduramandalam was the name of a district not far from Chakrakôta bordering on the Vêngi country. Nâmanaiikkônâṁ, Pañchappalli and Mâsunidêśam have not yet been identified. Professor Kielhorn suggests that Indraratha of the lunar race captured by Rājendra-Chôla at Âdinagar may be identical with that Indraratha who is mentioned in the Udaipûr inscription as an enemy of Bhôjadêva of Dhârâ. Odda-vishaya is the province of Orissa and Kôśalai-nâdu is southern Kôśala. Dandabutti and its ruler Dharmapâla are not known from any other sources. Mr. R. D. Banerji is of opinion that the Takkana-Lâdam of the Tamil inscriptions is distinct both from Gujarat (Lâta) and the territory of southern Bêrâr (Virâta), and that it should correspond to Dakshina-Râdha a part of modern Bengal.² Uttara-Lâdam must, accordingly, denote the northern part of it. Mahîpâla whom the Chôla king deprived of his elephants and women, is identified by Professor Kielhorn with the Pâla king Mahîpâla I.

Most of the places mentioned here were conquered by Rājendra-Chôla I in his campaign against the north for the purpose of bringing the sacred water of the Ganges, which earned for him the title Gangaikonda-Chôla. The object of Rājendra-Chôla in undertaking this campaign is referred to in the Tiruvâlangâdu grant thus³ :—

“This light of the solar race, laughing at Bhagîratha who had brought down the Ganges to the earth from heaven by the power of his austerities, wished to sanctify his own country with the waters of the Ganges. Accordingly, he ordered the commander of the army, who had powerful battalions under his control, who was the resort of heroism and the foremost of diplomats, to subdue the enemy kings occupying the countries on the banks of that river.”

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. 3 IX, p. 230.

² *Memoirs of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXI, p. 7 f.

³ *Religion* n. 424. Vv. 109 and 110.

The conquest of Northern India by the Chôlas must have taken place in 1023 A D. The above account shows that it was a general of the Chôla king who conducted this campaign. But it is somewhat difficult to believe how a single Chôla army could overrun within one year such a vast tract of country. It is also said that after vanquishing the kings of the Ganggetic countries Râjendra-Chôla's general caused the water of the sacred river to be brought to the Chôla capital on the heads of the conquered kings¹. A stone record of the king found at Ennâyiram in the South Arcot district contains interesting information regarding the conquest of the northern region by the king himself, of his stately return march with all the splendour of the conqueror, of his wedding the Gangâ and hence assuming the title Gangaikonda-Chôla and building a hall called after the title at Ennâyiram and feeding a number of people in it. The wording of the inscription seems to indicate that Râjendra-Chôla I was himself engaged in the expedition against the kings of Northern India (*Uttarâpâtha*) and it may not be unreasonable to suppose that he did not entrust the management of it merely to his generals as the wording of the Tiruvâlangâdu plates at first sight would imply². Though the date of the record is effaced, the conquests enumerated in it show that it cannot be earlier than A D 1023. It is interesting to note that charities which it registers for the maintenance of a hostel and a college for religious instruction of every description, were made to secure success to the arms of the king, showing clearly that the king was at the time engaged in the war. It must have been during this northern invasion that Râjendra-Chôla had the lords of the Kulûta and the Utkala countries slain by his generals as reported in the Kanyâkumâri inscription³. The encounter with the Kulûta king is also referred to in an inscription of the king found at Mahêndragiri where he is said to have set up a pillar of victory. The Kanyâkumâri inscription adds Kalinga to the list of the king's conquests. After this invasion of northern India there seems to have been considerable communication between the kings of northern India and the Chôla country. During the reign of Râjâdhirâja I, the son and successor of Râjendra-Chôla I, the title "Protector of the people of Kannakuchchi" (Kanyâkubja, *i.e.*, Kanauj) was bestowed on one of the royal princes. This shows that Kanauj had close relations with the Chôlas. In an inscription of Kulôttunga I found at Gangaikondachôlapuram, the usual introduction of the inscriptions of the Gâhadavâla king Gôvindrachandra occurs after the name of the Chôla king. As the *prasasti* of the Gâhadavâla king was put in after the name of Kulôttunga I, it seems as if the Chôlas had some sort of suzerainty over that northern power.

In commemoration of this memorable campaign in which the waters of the Gangâ were carried on the heads of the subdued kings, the Chôla king founded a new city, which he called Gangaikondachôlapuram. In this city, Râjendra-Chôla built a great temple on the model of the Râjarâjêsvara temple at Tanjore, built by his father. This city was the capital of Chôla emperors for about 100 years. Its original name seems to have been Mudikondachôlapuram, after another surname of the king, and afterwards changed into that of Gangaikondachôlapuram. It had also the name Gaṅgâpurî.

Great as were the military achievements of Râjendra-Chôla I in the mainland of India, he acquired even greater fame by his naval engagements, which took place on the other side of the Bay of Bengal, a feat not attempted by any sovereign of India till his time. It is said

¹ *Archæological Survey Report* for 1911-12, p 173.

² *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1918, paragraph 25.

³ *Travancore Archæological Series*, Vol. III, p 157.

that he despatched many ships in the midst of the rolling sea, captured Samgrâmañijayôttungavarman, the king of Kadâram, along with his vehicles and accumulated treasure, took Śrî-Vishaya, Pannai, Malaiyûr, Mâyirudîngam, Ilangâśôkam, Mâppappâlam, Mēvilîmbangam, Valaippandûru, Takkôlam, Mâdamalingam, Ilâmuridêśam, Nakkavâram and Kadâram Samgrâmañijayôttungavarman, the king against whom this war was waged with great advantage to the Chôlas was probably a successor of Mârañijayôttungavarman of the *Śailêndravamśa*, the lord of Śrî-Vishaya, who while extending the kingdom of Katâha, is reported in the Leyden plates to have built a lofty and beautiful monastery at Nâgappattanam and called it Chûdâmanivarman-vihâra, after the name of his father Chûdâmanivarman. Since it is stated in the plates that both Râjarâja I and Râjêndra-Chôla I patronised the *vihâra*, it appears that Samgrâmañijayôttungavarman, proving refractory, Râjêndra-Chôla had to take the extreme step of conquering the whole of his kingdom—in which must have been included all the places mentioned above—and depriving him of his wealth. It is also learnt that Râjêndra-Chôla (*Shih-h-lo-cha-yu-to-lo-chu-lo*) sent an embassy to China, though we do not know what his intentions were in that direction¹

Among the places mentioned in the final campaign of the king, Śrî-Vishaya or Śrî-Vijaya has been taken to be the same as *San-fo-tsu* of the Chinese annals and identified by Mr George Coedes with the residency of Palambang in Sumatra, Nakkavâram and Pappâlam stand respectively for the Nicobar islands and a port of that name in Burma, Takkôlam has been identified with Takôpa on the western part of the Malay Peninsula and Kadâram is located in lower Burma. Rest of the places are not known.

We shall here notice a few facts concerning the relations of Râjêndra-Chôla I. Kundavai, the eldest sister of his father married a chief named Vallavaraiyar Vandiyadêvar, who figures as a feudatory in some of the inscriptions of Râjêndra-Chôla I. The king's sister, the younger Kundavai, was married to the Eastern Châlukya Vimalâditya and this prince was in the Chôla dominions for some time, though the object of his mission is not known. Râjêndra-Chôla had several queens. One of them was Pañchavanmahâdêvî; another was Danti-Pirâttyâr² and a third Vîramahâdêvî. Of the last, an inscription of Râjâdhirâja states that she entered the supreme feet of Brahmâ (i.e., died) in the very year of demise of Râjêndra-Chôla I and was buried in the very tomb of that king³. This tomb in which the bodies of the two royal personages were deposited might possibly have been at Brahmadêśam in the North Arcot district. As the record is dated in the 26th year of the reign of Râjâdhirâja, it is inferred that, Râjêndra-Chôla died in that year, i.e., A.D. 1044 and that his queen Vîramahâdêvî committed *satî* and was buried with him⁴. The Kanyâkumârî inscription settles the relationship of Râjêndra-Chôla I and his successors Râjâdhirâja, Râjêndradêva and Vîra-Râjêndra. It states that like unto the three fires of a sacrifice there were born to Râjêndra-Chôla I three sons of whom the first was Râjâdhirâja and that Râjêndradêva and Vîra-Râjêndra were his younger brothers⁵. Ammangâ was the name of his daughter who married the Eastern Châlukya king Râjarâja I. Their son was Kulôttunga I.

¹ *Historical Sketches of Ancient Deccan*, p. 257

² *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1912-13, p. 98

³ No. 260 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1915

⁴ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1916, paragraph 14

⁵ *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. III, p. 120.

King Rājendra-Chôla I struck coins in his own name. They are referred to in his inscriptions under the names Rājendrasôlan-kâsu and Madurântakadêvan-mâdaï. Besides these, Râjarâjan-kâsu issued in the time of Râjarâja I was also current in his time¹.

Of the literary activity displayed in the Chôla country during the period of Rājendra-Chôla's rule, we know very little. Śaiva works of the type of *Siddhântasârâvali* must have been largely written and patronised by the king who was himself a devout Śaiva. Jaina and Buddhist literature also had its share of royal patronage. From the *Upāsakajanâlankāra* of the Mahâthêra Ânanda, a manuscript of which has been reviewed by Dr. Barnett in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for January 1901, pp. 87 to 90, it may be inferred that the king lent his patronage to Buddhist literature. Dr. Barnett thought that the Chôla-Gangâ mentioned in the *Upāsakajanâlankāra* was identical with Anantavarman Chôdaganga. This could not be, for, in the first place, the latter is not a Chôla but an Eastern Gangâ king who ruled at Kalinganagara which has been identified with Mukhalingam in the Pârlakimedi estate, Ganjam district. Pândubhûmandala is stated to be the country where Chôla-Ganga was ruling as a *sāmanta* (a subordinate ruler) perhaps as the viceroy of his father. This fact makes the chances of his identity with Anantavarman Chôdaganga very problematical. Consequently, a different identification has to be sought for. The king mentioned is in my opinion the famous Chôla emperor Rājendra-Chôla I who was also called Gangaikonda-Chôla on account of his having subdued the country about Gangai, i.e., the Ganges. His conquests, as we know, were many and spread practically over the whole of India and extended even to Ceylon. The Tiruvâlangâdu grant clearly states that Rājendra-Chôla I, also called Madhurântaka, took possession of the wealth of the Pândya king, placed there his own son Chôla-Pândya for the protection of the Pândya country, and that he constructed in his capital the tank called Chôlagangam evidently so named after one of his own titles. This last fact decisively proves the identity of the king mentioned in the *Upāsakajanâlankāra* with king Rājendra-Chôla I. The name Gunâkara-Perumpalli which the king is stated to have given to one of the three *vihâras* which he founded in Ceylon also clearly indicates that the builder was a Tamil king.

Rājendra-Chôla I succeeded to the throne in A.D. 1012 and ruled till at least A.D. 1044. His position as a *sāmanta* in the Pândya country must have been during the early years of his heir-apparentcy prior to A.D. 1012. The identification of Chôlaganga with Rājendra-Chôla will thus alter the dates and the identification of the Mahâthêra Ânanda, the author of *Upāsakajanâlankāra*.

In addition to the surnames Gangaikonda-Chôla, Mudigonda-Chôla and Chôlaganga, which have been noticed above, Rājendra-Chôla also had the surnames Madhurântaka, Nigarîli-Chôla and Pandita-Chôla. The last name shows that he must have been considered a scholar in Sanskrit. It is also stated in the *Siddhântasârâvali* of Trilôchanaśivâchârya that Rājendra-Chôla on the occasion of his visit to the Ganges saw there the best of the Śaivas and brought them with him and settled them at Kâñchî and other places in the Chôla country. Information about Râjâdhirâja and his successors could be gathered from the elaborate introductions to their inscriptions given by Prof. Hultzsch in parts I, II and III.

¹ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1913, paragraph 23.

VOLUME III—PART IV

No. XVII.—COPPER PLATE GRANTS FROM SINNAMANUR, TIRUKKALAR AND TIRUCHCHENGODU.

No. 206 —TWO PANDYA COPPER PLATE GRANTS FROM SINNAMANUR.

These are two of the four sets of Pândya copper plate grants discovered so far and are herein published for the first time. The Vêlvikudî grant of Parântaka Neduñjadaiyan has been edited by me in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVII, pp. 291 to 309 and the Madras Museum Plates of Jatilavarman, by the late Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXII, pp. 57 to 75. These four, studied together, furnish a genealogy of the Pândyas from the early king Kadungôn, who is said to have flourished at the close of the first Śāṅgam of Tamil poets, down to Râjasimha-Pândya¹, the contemporary of the Chôla king Parântaka I, who reigned at the commencement of the 10th century A.D. With the invasion of the latter into the Pândya country and his capture of Madura, which earned for him the title 'Madirakonda', the early Pândya power seems to have come to an end, and made room, for the next two centuries at least, for the unchallenged sway of the Chôlas over the whole of Southern India.

The two grants under consideration have been thoroughly reported in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1906-1907, pp. 62 ff. Speaking of their provenance, Mr. Venkayya states "the plates are reported to have been found about 20 or 25 years ago (now nearly forty years) while digging for the foundation of the kitchen in the Vishnu temple at Sinnamanûr² in the Periyakulam taluka of the Madura district, and have since been purchased for deposit in the Madras Museum, from their owner Mr. Rajam Ayyar."

The bigger of the two sets consists of seven copper plates, measuring approximately 10" by 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". The thin rims which they once seem to have had, are now completely worn out. The plates are numbered on their obverse sides, with the Tamil numerals 2 to 8 close to the right side of the ring hole, thus showing that the first plate, whose obverse must have borne the number 1, is now lost. The last plate ending with the word *Karkulattil*, also shows that one or more plates which contained the last portion of the grant are lost. The ring which held the plates together and which, judging by the size of the ring holes in the middle of the left margin of each plate, must have been a little less than $\frac{3}{8}$ " in thickness, is missing. The existing seven plates weigh 390 *tolas*.

The smaller set consists of three thin plates without rims, *viz* the first, second and the last, with one or more plates of two written sides, missing between the second and the last. The first and the last plates are not numbered as in the larger set. The ring with which the

¹ See below, Table on p. 446. The three Pândya kings Perumbidugu Muttaraiyan *alias* Kuvâvan Mâran, his son Ilāṅgôvadiyaraiyan *alias* Mâran Paramêśvaran, and his son Perumbidugu Muttaraiyan *alias* Śuvaran Mâran mentioned in the Śendalai pillar inscriptions of about the 8th century A.D. do not appear in this genealogy. They evidently belonged to a subordinate branch of the family and were perhaps kings of the southern Tañjai country, ruling almost independently of the imperial Pândyas at Madura and sometimes fighting with them. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 136 and 137.

² Spelt Chinnamanur in the Alphabetical list of villages in the Madras Presidency.

plates were held together is lost. The ring-hole is not, as usual, bored in the middle of the left margin, but at the left bottom or the left top corner, according as the written side of the plate is odd or even—the sheets being meant evidently to be read by turning over the leaf, as in a palm-leaf manuscript without the necessity of actually removing the plate from the ring. The plates measure $8\frac{1}{2}$ " by 3" and the three plates, together, weigh 51 *tolas*.

Both sets of plates use the Grantha alphabet wherever Sanskrit verses and Sanskrit words occur and the Tamil Vatteluttu where the Tamil language is employed. The palaeography of the smaller set of plates does not differ much from that of the Madras Museum plates of Parântaka Neduñjadaiyan, who, as I have stated already in my paper on the Vêlvikudî grant, has to be identified with the donor of the latter and therefore also with Mârajañjadaiyan of the Âṇaimalai inscription.¹

The remark made by Mr. Venkayya that the Madras Museum plates and the smaller Śinnamanûr plates are nearer in point of time to the larger Śinnamanûr plates than they are to the Vêlvikudî grant, has been already examined by me in the light of the palaeography of the plates under publication. I have noticed that the difference in the formation of the Grantha characters of the Vêlvikudî, the Madras Museum and the smaller Śinnamanûr plates all of which in my opinion belong to the same period, should be due to their having been written at different periods later than their Vatteluttu portions. In the matter of their Vatteluttu writing, the smaller and the bigger Śinnamanûr plates are far separated by time and the palaeographical differences are apparent. The formation of the initial vowel *a*, the *e*-mark in consonants, the letters *na*, *ma*, and *ya*,—of which the two latter, it is surprising to find, resemble the *ma* and *ya* of the Vêlvikudî and the Âṇaimalai inscriptions,—show marked differences. The differences which the smaller Śinnamanûr plates and the Madras Museum plates present, except in the formation of the letter *ya*, are very slight. They are almost nil. Consequently, Mr. Venkayya's identification of the second king Arikêsarî Asamasaman Mâravarman mentioned in the smaller Śinnamanûr plates with Mâravarman Pallava-bhañjana of the Madras Museum plates and that of his son—his unnamed son who was victorious at Marudûr—with Jatilavarman Neduñjadaiyan of the same plates, becomes untenable even on the grounds of palaeography. This point will become clearer in the sequel where the identification of the kings mentioned in the smaller and the bigger Śinnamanûr plates is discussed.

The Sanskrit portion of the bigger Śinnamanûr plates begins with a fragmentary verse in which the king (perhaps Pândya) boasts of having subdued the ocean—an attribute which the mythical Pândya kings generally assumed in consequence, perhaps, of their sea-bordering kingdom, their naval power, and their sea-borne trade, from the earliest historical times. From him were descended the kings known as Pândyas (v. 2) 'who engraved their edicts on the Himalaya mountain' and whose family-priest was the sage Agastya (v. 3). One of the Pândya kings is said to have occupied the throne of Indra (v. 4) and another to have shared it with that god, and still another, to have caused the Ten-Headed (*i.e.*, Râvana of Lankâ) to sue for peace (v. 5). One was a conqueror of the epic hero Arjuna (v. 7)². Verse 8 refers to a king who cut off his own head in order to protect that of his master and also to a certain Sundara-Pândya who had mastered all the sciences. Many kings of this family had performed Vêdic sacrifices *Râjasûya* and *Âśvamedha* (v. 9)³.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 317 f.

² See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, p. 59 and foot-note 4.

³ The Tamil portion gives many more of such attributes to the Pândya ancestors, see below p. 443.

In this family was born king Arukēsarin. His son was Jatila; his son Râjasimha (II); his son Varaguna (I); and his son Śrī-Mâra entitled Śrīvallabha (v. 10). Śrī-Mâra conquered Mâyâ-Pândya, the kings of Kêrala and Simhala, the Pallava and the Vallabha (v. 11). His son was Parântaka the younger brother of Varaguna II (v. 12), who fought a battle at Kharaguni and captured Ugra (v. 13). His wife was Vânavanmahâdêvi (v. 15) and their son was Râjasimha (III), the banner (both) of the solar and the lunar races (vv. 16 and 17).

A favourite of this king was the Brâhman Parântaka, the son of Śrêshthîsarman, the grandson of the Vêdic scholar Bhâskara (v. 21) and the great-grandson of Śrêshthîn, a Senguti-Kausika of Puttûr (vv. 20 and 21). The ancestors of this Parântaka were the followers of Āgnivêśya-kalpa—evidently the science of medicine—and his maternal grandfather was the famous Ūrâsarman of the Maudgalya lineage, of Syandanagrâma. To Śrêshthîsarman, king Parântaka Vîranârayana had given the village of Maniyâchi, surnamed Tîsauchchudarmangala in Vada-Kalavali-nâdu. The ruling king Râjasimha (III) gave to the Brâhman Parântaka, in the 16th year of his reign, while encamped at Chûlal in Râjasimha-kulakkil, the *agrahâra* Narcheygai-Puttûr surnamed Mandaragauravamangalam in Ala-nâdu.

The *vyñapti* of the grant was the councillor and poet Jatila (v. 33) of the Atri-gôtra, while the *âñapti* was Kûrrangôn, a servant of king Mâṛavarman (v. 34). The *kudikâval* was Nakkankumân, son of the headman of Kûra in Kîl-Vêmba-nâdu, who was a minister and the chief of the elephant forces. Nakkan-Kâda, Kôn-Vêlân and Paṭârañ-Chôlai were three officers who witnessed the demarcation of the boundary line. Verse 37 supplies for the king the surname Abhimânamêru.

The composer of the *prasasti* was Vâsudêva, a friend of Madhuraguna and the elder brother of Vishnu (v. 38).

The Tamil portion which begins with line 76 also praises the Pândya kings who belonged to the lunar race and bore the crest of the double fish, had Agastya as their family preceptor and counted the god (Śiva) as one of their family members. Many other incidents, mostly mythical, are also registered of some of the early kings such as, (1) churning the ocean for nectar, (2) bathing in the waters of the four oceans in a single day, (3) going round the earth, (4) sending embassy to the gods on many occasions, (5) taking away the necklace of Pâkaśâsana (Indra), (6) mastering the Tamil language of the south, (7) driving away the sea by throwing a javelin, (8) giving a thousand golden hills (*Mêru*) in charity; (9) founding the town of Madura and erecting a wall round it; (10) studying Tamil and Sanskrit (*vada-môli*) as even to excel Pandits, (11) leading elephants in the Bhârata war against the Mahârathas; (12) relieving Vijaya (Arjuna) from the curse of Vasu; (13) engraving the victorious symbols of the fish, the tiger, and the bow on the top of the Northern mountain, *i e*, the Himalayas; (14) getting huge giants to work for them in building many tanks, (15) cutting off the heads of two kings in the battles fought at Chitramayari and Talaiyâlangânâ; (16) getting the Mahâbhârata translated into Tamil, and (17) establishing the Tamil Śangam in the town of Madura. After these kings had passed away, there came a king named Parâнкуśa who saw the back of (*i e*, defeated) the Chêra king at Nelvêli and the Pallava king at Śankaramaṅgai. His grandson was Râjasimha, after whom came a king named Varaguna-Mahârâja. The exact relationship of this Varaguna-Mahârâja to his predecessor Râjasimha has not been recorded. Râjasimha's son was Parachakrakêlâhala who was successful in battles fought at Kunnûr, Śingalam.

(Ceylon) and Vihñam and who at Kudamūkkil won a deadly battle against the combined armies of the Ganga, Pallava, Chōla, Kalinga, Magadha and other kings. Next came Varagunavarman, whose relationship to Parachakrakōlāhala is also not specified. His younger brother was Parāntakan Śadāryan, who fought battles at Śennilam, Kharagiri and Pennāgadā in the Kongu country. To him and his queen Vānavanmahādēvī was born Rājasimha surnamed Vikatavādava and Mandaragaurava. This latter fought a battle at Ulappinimangalam, drove the king of Tañjai (Tanjore) in a battle fought at Naippūr, won a battle at Kodumbai, burnt the town of Vāñji on the northern bank of the Ponnī (Kāvērī) river and destroyed the lord of the southern Tañjai country at Nāval.

In the 14th year opposite to the second year of his reign (*i.e.*, the 16th year as stated in the Sanskrit portion), this Rājasimha, while he was encamped at Chūlal, a town founded by himself in the district of Rājaśingapperungulakkil or Rājasimhakulakkil, granted to the Brāhman Parāntaka, the village Narcheygar-Puttūr in Ala-nādu, re-naming it Mandaragauravamangalam. As in the Sanskrit portion, lines 147 to 155 seem to record that Bhāskaran-Śetti (Śrēsthīśarman of the Sanskrit portion) the son of Bhāskara and the foremost of the Ombālvas of the Āgnivēśya-kalpa and the Komara-Kausika-gōtra (Śenguti-Kausika of the Sanskrit portion) dwelling in Puttūr, in the Mīy Gundāru (district) of Koluvūr-kūrram (division), had received from Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa, the village of Tīsaichchudarmangalam in the Vadakalavalī-nādu (province). From the Sanskrit passage, we learn that Maniyāchi, which may be identified with the well-known junction station on the South Indian Railway, was surnamed Tīsaichchudarmangalam. The *vinmappam* (*vinmāpti* in Sanskrit) *i.e.*, the one who made the formal request to the king, was, according to the Tamil portion, a certain Śadāyapirān-Bhattasōmayājin of Pullamangalam in Śōla-nādu and the *āṇṇapti*, as in the Sanskrit portion, was Kūrrangōn, a native of Vēmbarrūr in Kalavalī-nādu. Kumān or Nakkan-Kumān¹ (as he is called in Sanskrit) of the village of Kūra in Kīl-Vēmba-nādu, was the *kudikāval-nāyakan* or the chief revenue officer. The three officers, who, according to the Sanskrit portion, were to witness the demarcation of the boundary line, are stated in the Tamil portion, to have been the *kanakkar* or accountants, the demarcation itself being done by the *nāttār*, *i.e.*, the district people of Ala-nādu. Of the boundaries, the eastern boundary was the Śuruli-āru (river). The southern boundary of the village granted, which commences at the end of the eighth plate, must have been continued on the next, which is however missing.

Compared with the Vēlvikudi plates of Neduñjadāryan, we find that the account given in the bigger Śinnamanūr plates includes, as it should, many later Pāndya kings. The mild Purāṇic tradition of the Vēlvikudi plates connecting the Pāndyas with Agastya, the churning of the milk ocean, and the sharing with Indra of half his throne and necklace, grows here into a big list with seven or eight other extra items added to it. Some of these are interesting. For instance, the going round the earth, and the bathing in the waters of the four oceans in a single day, are feats attributed to Vāli, king of the monkeys¹. Agam, calling the aid of huge giants to build tanks in the Pāndya land also seems to suggest the near connection which the Pāndya country had with Ceylon, the land of Rāvana. The driving away of the sea by throwing a javelin is perhaps a reminiscence of a similar feat ascribed to the epic hero Rāma. The leading of elephants against the Mahārathas in the Bhārata war is a fact which is commemorated also in literature, of the Chēra king Śenguttuvan,

¹ Vālmiki-Rāmāyana, Uttarakāṇḍa, chapter 34.

who is said to have fed the soldiers in the Mahâbhârata war. Some of the other attributes, however, are of much historical value. The mastery over the Tamil language of the south, the foundation of the town of Madura and the erection of a wall round it, the studying of Tamil and Sanskrit as even to excel Pandits, the initiating of the translation of the Mahâbhârata into Tamil and the establishing of the Tamil Śāṅgam (academy) in the town of Madura—these, clearly indicate the close connection the Pāṇḍya kings had with the development of the Tamil language and the foundation of the town of Madura. The battles of Chitramuyari and Talaiyālangānam mentioned of one of the unnamed Pāṇḍya kings must be a reference to Neduñjeliyan who is spoken of in literature as the hero who gained success in the battle of Talaiyālangānam by defeating the Chōla and the Chēra kings. Our plates add that the heads of these two kings were actually cut off and this was not in one battle as literature suggests, but in two, *viz*, Chitramuyari and Talaiyālangānam ¹

The genealogies of the Pāṇḍya kings as given in the Sanskrit and Tamil portions differ widely; but still as both refer to the same grant, which was made in the sixteenth year of the same king, there cannot be any room for doubt. Consequently, the statements of the Sanskrit and the Tamil portions have to be supplemented one with the other, in order to obtain a complete genealogy (*see* Table D in the attached sheet of genealogical tables)

The smaller Śinnamanūr plates, after the usual invocation to god Purushōttama (Vishnu) (v 1), confer a benediction on the family of the Moon, in which were born the (Pāṇḍya) kings who crushed the pride of the enemies of gods (v 2)

In that family of the Moon, after many kings of great deeds had expired, came forth a son of Jayantavarman, the great king (*paramēśvara*) Arikēsari Asamasaman Alanghyavikrama Akālakāla Māravarman. His son was one who fought battles at Marudūr and Kuvaimalai. Here comes a break and one or two plates on which the genealogy should have been continued, are lost. What is left on the last plate treats only of the description of the boundary line of the granted land or village, and mentions the Bhagavatī temple of Korranputtūr. The *ānatti* of the grant was Tāyan Śingar, the *uttaramantri* of Kundūr in Kundūr-kūrram of Anda-nādu. The *purankāval* of this village was eighty-five *kalams* (of paddy). The king himself, as in the Vēlvikudi plates (ll 151-152), made a declaration and caused the copper-plate grant to be executed. It may be noted that Korranputtūr mentioned above, also figures among the boundaries of Vēlvikudi. The record was written (or witnessed) by Arikēsari, son of Pāṇḍi-Perumbanaikkāran who also wrote the Madras Museum plates.

Before proceeding further, it is necessary to have clearly before us the genealogical tables supplied by the four Pāṇḍya copper-plate grants, *viz*, (A) the Vēlvikudi grant, (B) the Madras Museum plates, (C) the smaller Śinnamanūr plates and (D) the bigger Śinnamanūr plates, severally. For convenience of reference, it will be noted that the numbers given to the kings in the Vēlvikudi table are repeated in the other tables in cases where, for reasons explained in the sequel, the kings are identical.

¹ For further information on the Pāṇḍya who fought the battle of Talaiyālangānam, *see* Dr. S. K. Ayyangar's *Beginnings of South Indian History*, chapter 4.

The description of the three kings given in the smaller Śinnamanûr plates enables us to identify at once the last who fought the battle at Marudûr with (5) Śadaiyan Ranadhîra of the Vêlvikudî plates and his father with (4) Arikêsarî Asamasaman Mâravarman of the same. From this it further follows that Jayantavarman the father of Arikêsarî Asamasaman must be identified with (3) Śeliyan Śendan. Mr K V Subrahmanya Ayyar suggests that Jayantavarman is perhaps a Sanskritized form of Śendan. Thus the three kings referred to in the smaller Śinnamanûr record, must be Nos (3), (4) and (5) of Mr Venkayya's genealogical table given at page 54 of part II of the Madras *Epigraphical Report* for 1908. It is, therefore, difficult to see how or why Rai Bahadur V Venkayya must have been inclined to attribute the smaller Śinnamanûr plates to Parântaka Vîranârâyana Śadaiyan of the bigger Śinnamanûr plates (D), who comes three generations after (7) of the Vêlvikudî grant, especially after seeing that the three names mentioned in the smaller set are evidently only the first three names of what might have been a longer genealogy, similar to that of the Vêlvikudî grant or the bigger Śinnamanûr plates. The Madras Museum plates of Jatilavarman and the smaller Śinnamanûr plates, palaeographically, are almost of the same period, and if, as proved in my paper on the Vêlvikudî grant, the donor of the Madras Museum plates is identical with the donor of the Vêlvikudî grant, it follows that the donor of the smaller Śinnamanûr plates too must be either Parântaka Neduñjadaiyan of the Vêlvikudî grant or an immediate successor of his. So, the missing plate or plates after the second in the smaller Śinnamanûr set should have contained the names of (5) Śadaiyan Ranadhîra, (6) Têrmâran, (7) Parântaka Neduñjadaiyan and perhaps also his successor Râjasimha II. It is very disappointing that these plates are lost; else, we would have had enough material to compare the genealogies and to identify the names.

In comparing next, the historical Pândya genealogy derived from the bigger Śinnamanûr plates with that of the Vêlvikudî grant, one has to be guided not only by the common names and titles of kings belonging to about the same age, but also by the common battles fought and the common enemies conquered by them—though it is not impossible that these may be repeated in history. Palaeographical similarities no doubt often help in the identification of names but sometimes they also fail when the particular inscription from which we draw the inference happens to be a copy of some older document, written in a later hand. Applying these methods we find that the first king Arikêsarî of the bigger Śinnamanûr plates, who is said to have fought the battle of Nelvêli against a Chêra king, will at first appear to be the same as Arikêsarî Mâravarman (No 4) of the Vêlvikudî grant whose enemy at Nelvêli was a certain Vilvêli¹ (perhaps a Chêra). But Arikêsarî of (A) did not, however, fight with the Pallava king as did Arikêsarî mentioned in (D). The battle of Śankaramangai where Parâñkuśa Arikêsarî of (D) defeated the Pallavas is not mentioned of No. 4 in (A) but Têrmâran (No 6) a grandson of Arikêsarî (No 4) is clearly said to have crushed the Pallava power. Again, the title Parâñkuśa, given to Arikêsarî in the Tamil portion of (D) makes it difficult to connect him with the first Arikêsarî Mâravarman (No 4) of the Vêlvikudî plates. So, it has to be assumed, at least hypothetically, that a second battle was fought at Nelvêli by Parâñkuśa Arikêsarî, like the first by his grandfather, Asamasaman Arikêsarî, against the very same or a different Chêra king. The fact that Parâñkuśa Arikêsarî's grandson is called Râjasimha in (D) suggests the possibility of

¹ Dr Krishnaswami Ayyangar suggests, however, that Vilvêli here may probably be synonymous with Pallava, since Tirumangai-Âlvâr, in his Periya-Tirumoli makes Villavan synonymous with Pallava. But it must be noted that Vilvêli is different from Villavan.

Arikēsari himself being also called Râjasimha, which title we actually find for the first time given to Têrmâran in the Vêlvikudi plates. Thus, the battle of Śankaramangai and the defeat of Pallavamalla and a possible second battle at Nelvêli are the only common factors that might enable us to connect the genealogy of the bigger Śinnamanûr plates with that of the Vêlvikudi grant. Parâнкуśa Arikēsari must therefore be No 6 Têrmâran, the contemporary of Pallavamalla (Cir A D 760) as we learn from the Vêlvikudi grant. If this is admitted, Têrmâran (No 6) of (A) must be presumed to have also had the titles Arikēsarin and Parâнкуśa, to have defeated the Pallavas at Śankaramangai before actually crushing Pallavamalla in the battles at Kulumbûr and Periyalûr and to have fought a second battle at Nelvêli against an unnamed Chêra¹

Of king Jatila, the second in the genealogical list (D) given above, nothing is stated in the plates in the Sanskrit portion, the Tamil portion omitting his name altogether. On the hypothesis, however, of Arikēsari Parâнкуśa being identical with Têrmâran of the Vêlvikudi grant, Jatila will have to be identified with (No 7) Parântaka Neduñjadaiyan, the donor of the Vêlvikudi grant—it being inexplicable, however, why this king of whom we hear so much in the Vêlvikudi and in the Madras Museum plates, should have been mentioned without any remarks in the Sanskrit portion and omitted altogether in the Tamil portion. The other kings who follow are later names in the Pândya genealogy and their achievements are detailed in the genealogical table (D) given above.

The successor of Jatila was Râjasimha (II)² of whom nothing is stated. After him came Varaguna or Varaguna-Mahârâja of great prowess who was separated by two generations or roughly 50 years from Têrmâran (No 6 of A) the contemporary of Pallavamalla Nandivarman already mentioned. Consequently, he should have flourished about the beginning of the 9th century A D. Though very scanty information is supplied about this king by the bigger Śinnamanûr plates, still he is familiar to students of epigraphy and we know of very many references in inscriptions to Varaguna or Varaguna-Mahârâja³, sometimes also called Mârañjadaiyan. We learn, e g, that Varaguna, for the first time, carried his conquests northward into the Chôla country against Idavar⁴ on which occasion also he should perhaps have destroyed the fortified walls of Vêmbil (Vêmbarrûr). Varaguna thence pushed further north into the Tondai-nâdu making there a grant from his camp at Araisûr, a village on the banks of the Pennar to the temple of Erichchâ-Udayâr at Ambâsamudram in the Tinnevely district. Again, an inscription at Kalugumalai⁵, also in the Tinnevely district, supports the above statement by referring to an expedition of the king (herein called only Mârañjadaiyan) against Arividûrkkôttai and casually mentions the village Pûndaumali (i e, Poonamalli) in Tondai-nâdu. The Tiruvîsalûr inscription dated in the 4th year of the reign of Varaguna-Mahârâja might also belong to this same king⁶. The Aivarmalai inscription which supplies the initial date Śaka 784 or A D 862 to Varaguna must refer to the

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol XVII, pp 293 and 295

² Têrmâran was Râjasimha I.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol IX, p. 86 f.

⁴ No. 690 of 1905

⁵ No. 43 of the *Madras Epigraphist's Collection* for 1908.

⁶ Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar thinks that this belongs to Varagunavarman II, but the title Mahârâja added to his name in the Tiruvîsalûr record leaves no doubt that he is the first of that name.

later Varagunavarman who was the grandson of Varaguna I. An inscription from Tiruvellai which is dated in his 13th year, and where the king is called Mārañjadaiyan supplies astronomical details for the verification of the date. The actual calculation, worked out by Mr Sewell at page 253 of *Ep Ind*, Vol XI, fits in with the 13th year of this Varagunavarman II, viz, Monday the 22nd November, A D 874. This is the second sure date in the Pāndya chronology, the first being A D 769-70 (or thereabouts) of the Ānamalai inscription, for king Marañjadaiyan Parāntaka, Neduñjadaiyan, the donor of the Vélvikudai grant and of the Madras Museum plates. Thus the initial date of Varaguna II got from the Aivarmalai inscription, is A D 862 and the nearest possible date of Parāntaka Neduñjadaiyan is A D. 770. The difference between these two dates i.e. 92 years, suggests at least four generations and Rai Bahadur Venkayya has, accordingly in his genealogical table of the Pāndyas given at page 54 of his *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1908, Part II, taken the Varaguna of the Aivarmalai inscription to be the second of that name who, according to the Udayēndiram plates, killed the Ganga king Prithivīpati I in the battle at Śrīpurambiyam or Tiruppurambiyam near Kumbhakōnam, being himself subsequently defeated by the last Pallava king Aparājita or Aparājita-vikramavarman son of Nripatunga¹. Leaving alone the second Varagunavarman for the present, it may be stated that in the time of Varaguna-Mahārāja I the Pāndya dominion was largely extended as to include in it the Chōla and the Pallava country right up to the bank of the Pennār in Tondai-nādu. This invasion could not have been allowed to pass without severe resistance by the kings concerned, viz, the Chōlas and the Pallavas, and consequently, we see that in the next reign king Śrīvallabha (10) had to fight fierce battles, three of them being at Kudamūkkil, i.e., Kumbhakōnam in the heart of the Chōla country, against perhaps the allied Chōlas, Gangas and Pallavas². This was perhaps the commencement of the struggle. It perhaps ended only with the defeat of Varaguna II, by the Pallava king Aparājita at Śrīpurambiyam, near Kumbhakōnam, where his Ganga ally Prithivīpati I also died. The Chōla enemies of the Pāndyas, now turned against their allies, the Pallavas Rājakesarivarman Āditya I overran the Tondai-nādu in the north and occupied it. But the Pāndya king Rājasimha III (No 13), the son of Parāntaka Śadaiyan, defeated the king of Tañjai (Tanjore) at Naippūr, fought a battle at Kodumbai (Kodumbālūr) the seat of one of the powerful Chōla subordinates, burnt Vañi and destroyed the king of southern Tañjai (perhaps another subordinate of the Chōlas) at Nāval. Āditya's son Parāntaka I defeated this Rājasimha-Pāndya, the nephew of Varaguna II and captured the Pāndya capital Madura, thereby acquiring for himself the well-known title Madirakonda. The mention of Māyā-Pāndya as in rebellious union against Śrīvallabha (10) and that of Ugra (perhaps also a Pāndya king) against Parāntaka Vīranārāyana Śadaiyan (12) show internal dissensions in the Pāndya family which must have been the cause of their eventual downfall. The Pāndya king Parāntaka appears to have courted the friendship of the rising powerful Chōla and to have married Vānavanmahādēvī, evidently a Chōla princess, as the title 'the flag of both the lunar and the solar races'³ borne by his son Rājasimha clearly shows.

¹ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1906, Part II, p. 64, paragraph 9

² He carried his conquest also into Sīmhala. The *Mahāvamsa* says that Aggabōdhi and Sēna killed Mahinda and his brothers who returned to the island from the opposite coast.

³ A similar title was assumed by Varaguna of the Trichinopoly cave inscription. The solar family to which he belonged on his mother's side, may have been the Chōla.

Of the topographical and other proper names mentioned in both the sets of Śinnamanūr plates, viz, Chitramuyari, Talaiyālangānam, Nelvēli, Śankaramangai, Kunnūr, Śingalam, Viliñam, Kudamūkkil, Śennilam, Kharagiri, Pennāgadam, Kongu, Ulappinimangalam, Tañjai, Naippūr, Kodumbai, Vañji [on the northern bank of the Ponni (Kâvêrî) river], Nâval, Chûlal, Râjasingapperungulakkîl, Narcheygaiputtâr, Ala-nâdu, Puttâr, Miygundâru, Koluvûr-kûrram, Maniyâchi or Tisaichchudarmangalam, Vada-Kalavali-nâdu, Pullamangalam, Śôla-nâdu, Vêmbarrâr in Kalavali-nâdu, Kûra in Kîl-Vêmba-nâdu, Śuruli-âru (river), Marudûr, Kuvalaimalai, Korranputtâr, Kundûr and Anda-nâdu, almost all are familiar and known to us from inscriptions. The first two are not identified, the second being known only to literature. Kudamūkkil is Kumbhakōnam; Viliñam is a port in the Travancore State, Śingalam is Ceylon, Pennāgadam is a village in the Tanjore District; Kongu comprises the modern districts of Salem and Coimbatore, Tañjai is the well-known Tanjore, Kodumbai is Kodumbâlûr in the Pudukkōttai State. Râjasingakulakkîl may be identified with Râjasingamangalam in the Śivaganga Zamîndârî. It is called Varagunamangalam in its inscriptions. Narcheygaiputtâr must be identical with Śinnamanūr in the Periyakulam taluk where these plates were obtained. The stone inscriptions of the place, however, show that it bore the name Arikēsarnallûr and was a *brahmadēya* in Ala-nâdu, a subdivision of Pândi-mandalam ¹. A hamlet of it was Korranputtâr, identical, perhaps, with the native village of the donee ². Mention is also made in stone inscriptions of the places Mandaragauravamangalam and Arapadaśêkharamangalam, which had assemblies similar to that of Arikēsarnallûr that met together in a common place, evidently showing that these places were not far distant from each other ³. Ala-nâdu is the territorial division in which Śinnamanūr was situated. Kōttârpohi-Puttâr is identical with Tirupputtâr in the Ramnad district and is the headquarters of a taluk. From No. 90 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908, we learn that it was situated in Miygundâru in Koluvûr-kûrram, which is the description given of Kōttârpohi-Puttâr in these plates. Pullamangalam is a village in the Pâpanâsam taluk of the Tanjore district. It was situated in Kîlâr-kûñnam. Kîl-Vêmba-nâdu is a subdivision of the Pândya country in which Tinnevely was situated. As such, the village of Kûra must be looked for near about Tinnevely. Śuruli-âru is the river that takes its rise from the Śuruli-malai, 7 miles from Cumbum in the Periyakulam taluk of the Madura district, and flows past Cumbum and Śinnamanūr and joins the Vaigai. Anda-nâdu is that territorial division of the Pândya country in which Periyakōttai in the Dindigul taluk was. Hence Kundûr and Korranputtâr must be traced out in that locality.

Larger Śinnamanūr Plates.

TEXT ⁴

[Metres: Vv 1 and 30, *Upajāti*; V 2, *Vasavadēni*; Vv 3, 4, 5, 8 and 31, *Upēndravajrā*; Vv. 6, 7, 13, 27 and 38, *Pushpitāgrā*, Vv 9, 11, 14, 16 and 23, *Śālini*, Vv 12 and 32, *Drutavilambitam*, Vv 15, 22, 26, 28, 29, 34 and 36, *Anushtubh*; Vv. 25, 33 and 35, *Indravajrā*, V 24, *Mandâkrântā*; Vv 10 and 20, *Śārdûlavikrûṭtam*, V 21, *Sragdharā*; and Vv. 17, 18, 19 and 37, *Vasantatilakā*]

¹ *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1907, Nos 427, 428, 432 and 441.

² *Ibid* No. 442.

³ *Ibid.* Nos. 439 and 452.

⁴ From the original plates and a set of ink-impressions.

Second Plate First Side.¹

- 1 त्वंगत्तंग्गावलिभंगरंगत्पतंगनक्षत्रशशांकरलः [1*] कल्पावसानक्षुभि-
 2 तोपि सिन्धुर्यत्पादपीठश्रियमाललम्बे² ॥ [1*] वंशस्तस्यासीद्विक्रमाक्रा-
 3 न्तविश्वशत्रुक्षत्रश्रीशर्वरीसप्तसतिः [1+] पुण्यश्लोकानाम् भूरिधाम्ना⁴पाणा-
 4 म् यत्रोत्पन्ना⁵नान्धर्मपत्नी धरित्री ॥ [2+] हताखिलारातिमहीपती-
 5 नां हिमाचलारोपितशासनानाम् [1+] पुरोहितभूदवनीपतीनाम्
 6 यदुद्भवानाम् भगवानगस्त्यः [3*] निहत्य देवासुरयुद्धमध्ये महा-
 7 सुरान्मानधनो यदुद्धूः [1+] अधोनिषण्णामरलोकमेकस्तुरेन्द्रासिहासन-
 8 मध्यतिष्ठत् ॥ [8*] जयाय दौत्यन्त्रिदिवालयानाञ्जगाम कश्चिद्वक्तृधीः कृतज्ञः [1*] द-
 9 शाननन्सन्धिपरश्वकार⁶ नरेश्वर. कश्चिदखण्डिता⁷ ज्ञः ॥ [9*] नरसखत-
 10 नयापतिर्नरेन्द्रस्त्रिभुवनगीतगुणस्त्रिलोचनश्च [1*] मथितजलनिधिश्च

Second Plate. Second Side.

- 11 यत्र जातः[+] क्षितिपतिरप्रतिमोप्यगस्त्यशिष्यः ॥ [1*] विदलितवलयस्तुरे-
 12 न्द्रमौलौ हतहरिहारविभूषितश्च यदुद्धूः [1*] कुरुपतिबल[तू]लकालव[हि]-
 13 जितविजयश्च यदुद्धूः नरेन्द्रः ॥ [7+] चकर्त्त कश्चिन्निजमुत्तमांगं गुरु-
 14 न्निजम् पालयितुं [य]दुद्धूः [1*] समस्तशास्त्रार्णवकर्णधारो यदुद्धवस्तुन्दर-
 15 पाण्ड्यनामा ॥ [4+] यत्रोत्पन्ना राजसूयाश्वमेधैरिष्टाने-
 16 कैर्देवभूयं प्रपन्ना.⁷ [1*] संख्यातीतास्सार्वभौमा नरेन्द्राः कस्ता-
 17 न्मर्त्यः कृत्स्नशो वक्तुमीष्टे ॥ [9*] तत्रासीदरिकेसरी नरपतिर्विशो व-
 18 शी श्रीनिधिस्तत्पुत्रो जटिलस्तुतो[5*]स्य नृपतिः[*] श्रिराजासिंहः कृती [1*] प्राज्ञः[*] स्फी-
 19 तपराक्रमो वरगुणस्तस्यात्मजस्तत्सुतः[+] श्रीमारः[+] श्रवणीयकीर्त्तिरजि-
 20 तः[*] श्रीवल्लभो भूपतिः ॥ [10*] मायापाण्ड्य केरळं सिंहळे[न्द्र]जित्वा संखे⁸

Third Plate First Side⁹

- 21 पल्लवम् वल्लभश्च [1*] एकच्छत्राम् मेदिनीमेकवीरः[+] प्रारक्षद्यः प्रे-
 22 मपात्रम् प्रजानाम् ॥ [11*] नृपकिरीटमणिद्युमणिप्रभाविसरभासितपादस-
 23 रोरुहः [1*] वरगुणस्य विभोरनुजः कृती नरपतिस्तनयो[5+]स्य परान्तकः ॥ [12*]
 24 खरगिरिमभितः करीन्द्रयू[थं] रिपुनृपशोणितशोणदन्तमाजौ [1*] करकलितकू-
 25 पाणमा[त्र]सैन्यस्सरभसमुग्रमुदग्रमग्रहीन्यः¹⁰ ॥ [13+] अग्राहारै-

¹ On the right side of the ring-hole, is marked the figure '2' in Tamil

² Read °माललम्बे.

³ The punctuation at the end of complete verses, here and *passim* is made by an ornamental mark.

⁴ Here and in other places, the writer has changed the *anusvara* into the nasal of the class following.

⁵ Read दशानन सन्धि°.

⁶ The letter ता is corrected from तो.

⁷ Read प्रपन्ना .

⁸ Read सख्ये

⁹ On the right of the ring-hole is the figure '3' in Tamil

¹⁰ Read °मग्रहीन्यः.

26 रप्रमेयैरनेकैर्देवस्थानैरस्तसमूख्यैस्त¹टाकै-

27 : [1⁺] पू[र्ण]म् पुण्यैर्यस्वयम्² पुण्यकीर्त्तिश्चक्रे चक्रचक्रवर्त्ती ध[रा]-

28 याः [॥१४+] श्रीरिव श्रीनिवासस्य पौलोमीव शतक्रतोः [1⁺] [श्री]वानवन्महा-³

29 देवी देवी तस्य प्रभोरभूत् ॥ [१५+] तस्याञ्जातः⁴ श्रीनिघेस्तस्य देव्याम्

30 पुत्रशशुक्षत्रिवित्रासनश्रीः [1⁺] प्रज्ञाशौर्यस्थैर्यैर्यैर्याभि-

Third Plate : Second Side.

31 जात्यत्यागाधारः पार्थिवो राजसिंहः ॥ [१६+] राजन्वती भवति यम्

32 पतिमेत्य पृथ्वी देवन्दि⁴ वाकरनिशाकरवंशकेतुम् [1⁺] आर्त्ति[म्]⁵

33 परामरिकदम्⁶ बकमर्त्तितात्थम्⁶ पूर्त्तिन्नयन्तमखिला हरितश्च कीर्त्तिम् ॥ [१७+] ना-

34 लम् भवन्ति निखिलात्थिजनाभिलाषास्त्यागस्य यस्य रिपवो[ऽ+]पि पराक्रमस्य [1⁺] की-

35 सैस्समस्तभुवनानि समुल्लसन्त्या वाचस्पतेरपि व-

36 चांसि गुणस्तुतीनाम् ॥ [१८+] अर्थैरनर्थैरहितैरखिलान्द्रि-

37 जेन्द्रानत्यर्थमर्थैरहितैरहिताननर्थैः [1⁺] आपूरयन्दशदिशोप्यम-

38 लैर्यशोभिर्ग्यो[ऽ+]यम् भुनक्ति भुवनम् भरतानुभाव ॥ [१९+] श्रीमान् [कौ]-

39 [शि]कवंशजश्च्युतधनः⁷ श्रीश्रेष्ठिशम्भुर्त्तिम[ज]ः⁷ श्रेष्ठशशिलवताम् परान्त-

40 क इति प्रख्यातनामो[ऽ+]ज्वलः [1⁺] तस्यास्ति प्राथितान्वयः पृथुयशाः प्रा-

Fourth Plate : First Side⁷

41 ज्ञः कृतज्ञः कृती राज्ञः प्रा[ज्य]गुणः प्रभूतविनयः प्रेमैकपात्रम् प्रभोः ॥ [२०+]]

42 पौत्रस्त्रैयेकधाम्न⁸ परहितनिरतो भास्कराख्यस्य यो[ऽ+]भूद्विद्यानद्या-

43 [ः] पयो[धि]र्विविधबुधजनप्रार्थनापारिजातः [1⁺] पुत्रूराप्तोदयानाम्⁹

44 पुरुतरतपताञ्चकुटिकैशिकानां श्रेष्ठस्य श्रेष्ठि-

45 नाम्नश्च्युतविनयनिधेः श्रीनिघेय्यश्च नसा ॥ [२१+] आग्निर्वश्य-

46 कृतं क[ल्प]मनल्पं यस्य पूर्वजाः [1⁺] प्रतिष्ठाम् भूतधारिण्यामनयन्वेद-

47 पारगाः ॥ [२२] मौद्वल्यानां स्यन्दनग्रामजानाम् मुख्यः ख्यातः¹⁰ स्फूर्ति[वृ]त्ताभि-

48 जात्यः [1⁺] श्रीमान्धीमान्कीर्त्तिमानूरशर्मा धर्माधारो यस्य मातामहो[ऽ+]भूत्

49 ॥ [२३+] विद्या वृत्तं विनयविभवः¹⁰ श्लाघनीया¹⁰ च लक्ष्मीर्द्धिदमीभर्तुश्चरणकमला-

¹ Read संख्यैस्त°.

² Read र्यस्वयम्.

³ The length of *ha* is inserted above the letter

⁴ Read पृथ्वी देवं दि°.

⁵ Read *anusvāra* in place of *m*.

⁶ The *ṣ*-sign of ज्ञ is at the end of the previous line

⁷ To the right of the ring-hole is the figure '4' in Tamil.

⁸ Read लय्यैक°.

⁹ Read °नामुत्तर°.

¹⁰ Read श्लाघनीया.

ii a.

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ii b

12
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iii a

22
 24
 26
 28
 30

iii b

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Fourth Plate . Second Side.

- 50 संगिनी चित्तवृत्तिः [1⁺] नित्योत्तुंगश्चाचिरभिजनः शाश्वती कीर्तिरुच्चैः
 51 प्रज्ञा चेति प्रथितयशसो यस्य वंशव्रतानि ॥ [२४⁺] ¹वृत्ताविदातो विन-
 52 यैकपात्रम् प्रभुः पिता यस्य पितामहश्रीः [1⁺] प्राज्ञः प्रसन्नः² प्रथिताभि-
 53 जात्यः[.] श्रीश्रेष्ठिशर्मा श्रवणीयकीर्तिः ॥ [२५⁺] पाण्ड्यान्ववायतिलका-
 54 त्पुण्यश्लोकात्परान्तकात् [1⁺] वीरनारायणाद्देवाद्धीराद्धीमत्-
 55 पुरोगम् ॥ [२६⁺] वटकळव³ राष्ट्रतो³[S⁺]ग्रहारम् सहितगुणम् मणियाच्चिना-
 56 मधेयम् [1⁺] अलभत मतिमाननूतसारम् विहिततिचैच्चुटर्भगलाभि-
 57 धानम् ॥ [२७⁺] स राजा रञ्जिताशेषभूचक्रशक्रविक्रम. [1⁺] षोडशे राज्य-
 58 वर्षे स्वे सादितारातिमण्डलः ॥ [२८⁺] राजासिंहकुलकी⁴त्युक्ते रा-

Fifth Plate : First Side ⁴

- 59 द्वे प्रतिष्ठितम् [1⁺] चू⁵लाख्योज्ज्वलं⁵ ग्राममा[व]तन्नमरोपमः ॥ [२९⁺] अ-
 60 नूनलक्ष्मी⁶ अ⁶मृ⁶भाजम् ⁶म⁶म⁶य⁶क⁶प⁶त⁶त्रा⁶रमिधानभाजम् [1⁺] कारा-
 61 णैममीयाट्टियुतं समस्तन्निरस्तपृथ्वीवल्लयोपसर्गः ॥ [३०⁺] करे-
 62 [णु]सञ्चारविभक्ततीमाचतुष्टयस्तुष्टिकरप्रजानाम्⁸ [1⁺] स ब्रह्मदेय-
 63 स्थितिमम्बु⁹पूर्वन्दिजाय तस्मै सकलं समग्रम् ॥ [३१⁺] वि-
 64 हितमन्दरगौरवमंगलाह्वयविराजितमग्रहरं¹⁰ वरं [1⁺] स-
 65 मदिशत्स परान्तकशर्मणे ¹¹निरुप[म⁺]म् नृपतिर्नयकेतनः ॥ [३२⁺] धर्म्मो-
 66 पदेष्टा नृपतेरमुष्य मन्त्री कविश्रीनिधिरत्रिगोत्रः [1⁺] विज्ञप्तिरस्याहृतस-
 67 ततन्तुस्तुंगाभिजात्यो जटिलो[S⁺]जनिष्ठ ॥ [३३⁺] श्रीमारवर्मणस्तस्य भृत्यः
 68 क्षत्रशिखामणेः [1⁺] ¹²क¹²म¹²का¹²नाह्वयो[S⁺]स्याभूराज्ञप्ति¹²रमलान्वयः[.] ॥ ३४⁺]

Fifth Plate . Second Side

- 69 क्री¹³वेम्पनाटाभिजनस्य पुत्रो नक्ककुमानित्यवदातनाम्न. [1⁺] कूरासज-
 70 न्मा सचिवो नृपस्य नाथ. करिण्या[⁺] कुटिकावलासीत् ॥ [३५⁺] नक्ककाटस्त कोन्वे-
 71 लान्पटारञ्चोल्याह्वयः¹³ [1⁺] इत्येते गणकाश्चाव करिणीभ्रमणे[S⁺]भव-

¹ Read वृत्ता°.² Read प्रसन्न..³ राष्ट्र has evidently to be understood in the sense of राष्ट्रे.⁴ To the right of the ring hole is the figure '5' in Tamil.⁵ Read °ज्ज्वलं.⁶ Read लक्ष्मीर⁶.⁷ The u-sign of 4 is written like that used in 4.⁸ Read °चतुष्टय तुष्टिकर. प्रजानाम्.⁹ Read म्बु पूर्व द्वि°.¹⁰ °मग्रहरं is used for °मग्रहार for the sake of the metre.¹¹ Read निरुपम्न.¹² Read °स्याभूराज्ञप्ति°.¹³ Read °ल्याह्वयः.

- 72 तः ॥ [३६*] पातप्रसन्न^१मनसस्तु कृतम्मेति सो[५*]यं समस्तवसुधाधिप-
 73 वन्दनीयः [१*] बद्धाञ्जलिः प्रतिदिनम् प्रणमत्यशेषानागामि-
 74 नः क्षितिपतीनभिमानभेरुः ॥ [३७⁺] विदितसकलवा[न्म]य-^३
 75 स्य विष्णोर्विनयनयप्रभवस्य पूर्वजो यः [१⁺] अरचयदतुल-
 76 मिमाम् प्रशस्तिम् मधुरगुणस्य सखा स वासुदेवः ॥ [३८⁺] स्वस्ति श्री [॥⁺]
 77 திருவொடுந தெளளமித[த⁺]தொடுந செநகதிரொளிக கௌஷ்ணத்தொடும அ-
 78 ருவிமதக களிற்றொனறொடுந தொனறி அரனவிாசடைமுடி விற்றிருந-
 79 த வெணடிங்குள முதலாக வெளிப்பட[ட]து நா[ற]றிசைலா புகழ்நீரது நா-

Sixth Plate : First Side.⁴

- 80 னிலத்திலை⁵ பெற்றது ஹாரஜாஜாடிகளால நெர ஸூத்திககப்பட்டது வி-
 81 சவலாக கரியது ஶீநஶ்யஸாஸநத்தது பொருவருஞ்சிர் அ-
 82 கத்தியனை வுரொஹிதனாகப் பெற்றது ஊழிஊழிதொறு முள்ள-
 83 து நின்ற ஒருவனை உடையது வாழியா பாண்டியா திருக்குல பி-
 84 (ற)தனில வந்தாந தொனறி வானவெலலைவரைத தாண்டும் மலை(க)கடல [க]-
 85 டைந தமிழாது கொண்டுந நானிலத்தொர் விஷயப(ப)பட
 86 நாறகட லொருபக லாடிஉம மறுகி[டு]லாளி மணிமு-
 87 டிஒடு சங்கவெளவளைத் தரத்தும்⁷ நிலவுலகம் வவளு-
 88 செயதுந நிகரில வெனறி அமராககுப பலமுறைஉ[ந]⁹
 89 தூதுய்த்தும் வாகஸாஸந ஞரம வவவிஉளு⁹ செம்மணிப பூண்டு
 90 தொனறித் தென்றமிழின கரைகண்டும வெம்முனை வெலொன்று விட்டும
 91 விரைவாவிற கடல மிட்டும பூழியனென்ப பெய செயதிஉம்⁹ பொா(க)-⁸
 92 கருனரூயிரம மிசுஉம்⁹ பாழியம்பாயலி னிமிநதும் பஞ்ச-
 93 வனெனும் பெயா நிநீஉம்⁹ வளமதுரைநகா கண்டும மறறதற்கு மதி-

Sixth Plate : Second Side.¹⁰

- 94 ள வகுத்தும் உளமிகக மதிஅதன லொண்டமிழும் வடமொழி-
 95 உம்⁹ பழுதறத் தானூராயநது பண்டிதரில மெநதொனறிஉம்⁹ மா-
 96 ரதா மலைகளத் தவியப பாரதத்திற பகடொட்டிஉம்⁹ விஜயலை
 97 வஸஸாஸந நிககிஉம்⁹ வெநதழியச சரம பொ[க⁺]கிஉம்⁹ வசைஇல¹¹ மாக-
 98 கயல புலி சிலை வடவரை நெற்றிலு வரைநதுந தடம்பூதம் பணி [கொ]-
 99 ணடு தடாகங்குள பல திருத்திஉம்⁹ அடுமபசி நொய நா[ட]கற[றி]
 100 அமபொற வித்ருமுயரிஉ⁹ தலைஆலங்கானத்திற றனனெனுக
 101 மிருவெநதரைக கொலைவாளிற றலை துமிததுக குறத்தலை[மி]நா
 102 கூத்தொழிததும் ஶேஹாராதந தமிழ்ப படுததும் ஶேஹாராபுரிச ர-
 103 ங்கம் வைத்தும் ஶேஹாராஜரும் ஸாஸு-ஹெளரேரு[ஶ⁺] ஶேஶீணுந காந-

¹ Read °भवन्.

² Read °प्रसन्न

³ Read वाङ्मय°.

⁴ To the right of the ring-hole is the figure ' 6 ' in Tamil. The figure and the ring-hole are enclosed in a rectangle of double lines.

⁵ Read °திலை.

⁶ Read மறுவிலொளி மணிமுடியொடு. The letters லொளிமணிமு are written over an erasure.

⁷ Read தரித்தும்.

⁸ Read பொற்குனரூயிரம் வீசியும்.

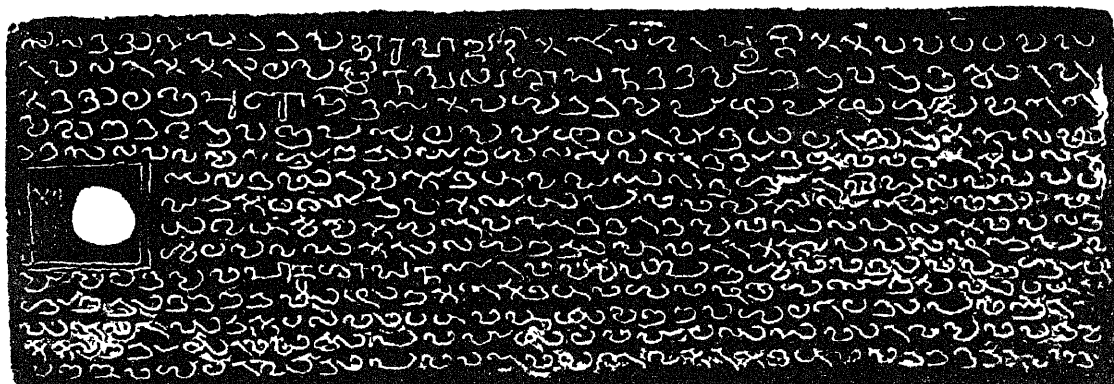
⁹ Read யும்.

¹⁰ Round the ring-hole is marked a rectangle in double lines

¹¹ Read யில.

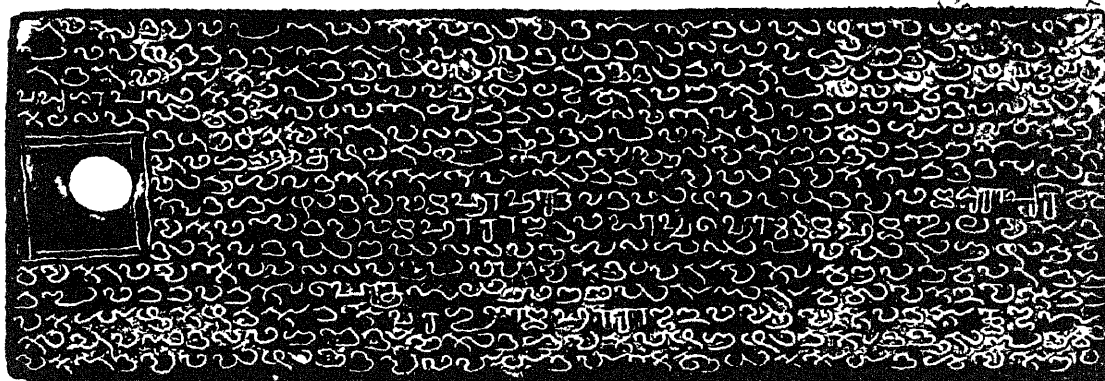
TWO PANDYA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM SINNAMANUR—(A)

vi a.



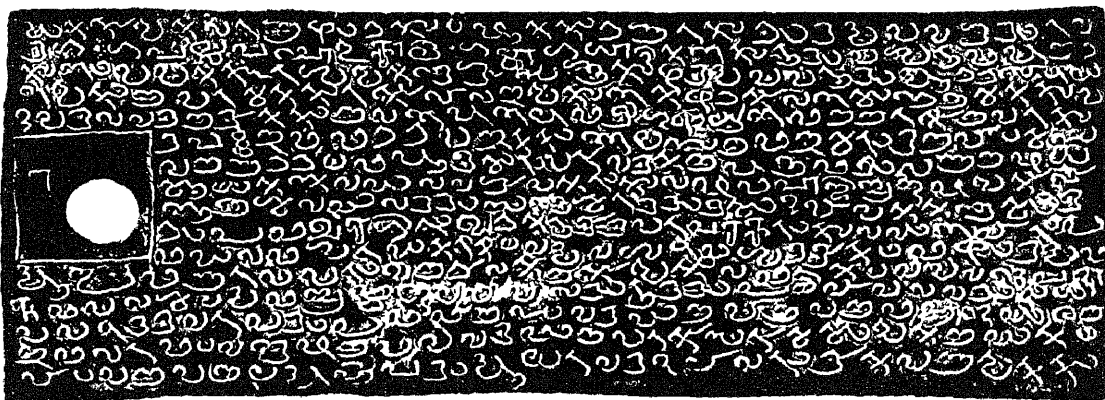
80
82
84
86
88
90
92

vi b.



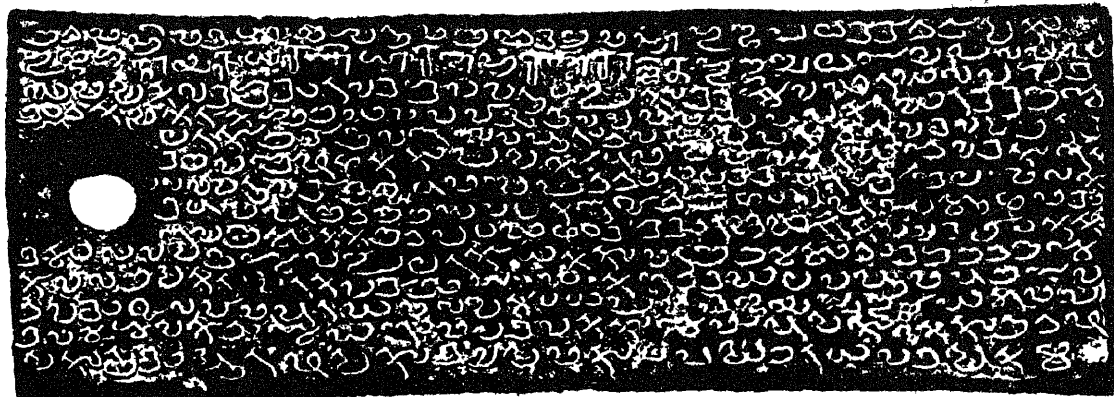
94
96
98
100
102
104
106
108

vii a.



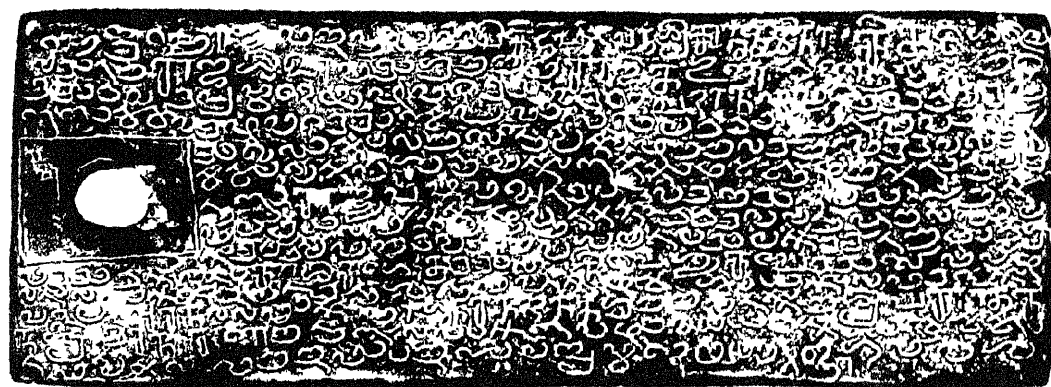
110
112
114
116
118
120
122
124

vii b.



126
128
130
132
134
136
138

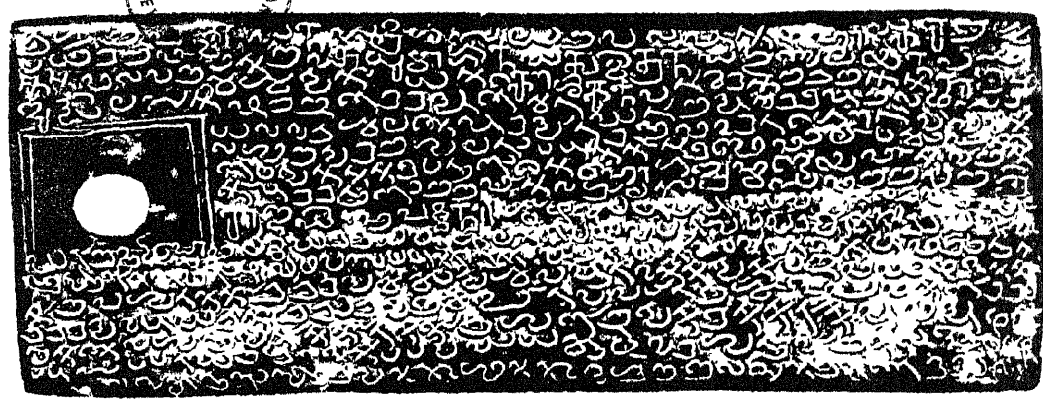
viii a



140
142
144
146
148
150
152



viii b.



154
156
158
160
162
164
166
168

- 104 திகந்தபின் விலவலனை நெலவெலிடம்¹ விரிபொழி[ற]ச
 105 சங்கரமங்கைப் பலவலனைஉம்¹ புறங்கண்ட² பராங்குசன பஞ்சவா தொன்-
 106 மலு[ம*] மறமறகு வளக[ரு]மின மன்னபிரா விராசசிங்கனுங் கொற்ற-
 107 வ[ர*]க டொழுகழறகாற கொ வரம[ண]ஜைமாராஜனும் ஆங்கவற காத்த[ஜ]ன-
 108 கி அவனிதலம் பொறை தாங்கித் தெங்கமழ பொழிற குணனூரினுளு சி-
 109 நகளத்தும் விழிஞத்தும் வாடாத வாகை சூழிக் கொடாத செங்கொண்ட[ர]-

*Seventh Plate . First Side*³

- 110 விக கொங்கலாபொழிற சூடமுக்கிற பொருறித்து வந்தெதிரா-
 111 த ம[ம]வலுலவொகாவி[ம]மோமயாடிகள குருதிப் பெருமபுனற
 112 குளிப்பக கூாவெங்கணைதொடை னெகிழ்த்துப் பருதி ஆற்றலொடு வி-
 113 னங்குன பரசக்கிரகொலாலனுங் குரைகழறகா லரை சிறைஞ்சக சூவ-
 114 லையதலா தனதாகின வரைபுரையு மணிநெடுந்தொன மன்னாகொன வரகு-
 115 ணவஜை[உ]னும் மறமவனுங் கிளையனா மனுசரிதன வாட்சடை-
 116 யன பொற்றமடபூண சிரிபராந்தகன் புனைமணிப் பொனமுடி-
 117 சூழிக் கைநநிலந்தொய கரிகுலமும் [வ]ராஜிவ[ர]முங்⁴ காலா-
 118 னுளு செநநிலத்தி னிலஞ்செரத் திணசிலைவாயக கணை சித்-
 119 றிஉம்¹ வரயிரிஇற⁵ கருதாதவா [வ]ராகரிகுலநிரை வாரிஉ-
 120 ம நிலம்பொ நிகா கடந்தூந் நெடும பெண்ணுக்கட மழித்தும்
 121 ஆனும் பொரப்பரி ஒன்ற லகன்கொங்கி மமா கடந்தூந் டெவையா-
 122 நம் பல செயதும் ஸ[ர]ஜெயம் ப[வ] திருத்திஉந்¹ நாவலந்திவடி-
 123 பபுதெ⁶ நரபதிஉம்¹ வானடைந்தபின் வானவனமஹாடெவி என-
 124 னு மலாமடநதை முன பயந்த மினவாகொ விராசசிங்கன் விகட-
 125 வாடவ னவனெய அஹிவதி ஆமிரந்தலையா லரிதாகப்பொறுக்கி-

Seventh Plate Second Side

- 126 னற மஹிமண்டலப் பெருமபொறை தன மஹா ஹஜவகுத்தாற றுங்கி
 127 ஹ[ஜ]மநாய[க] யாணியாரண ஹரணராஜிக ஹ[ஜ]வகுனாய உலப்பி-
 128 ⁷நிமங்கலத் தெதிரந்த தெவவருட் லுகுத்த செநநிர நிலப்பெண-
 129 ணிற கங்கராக்கமென நிலப்பாணி தந்தும் மடைப்பகாரித[த]ஞ்சை-
 130 யாகொன தா[ன] வரை நைப்பூரி படைப்பரிசாரந் தந்து[பொ]கத்
 131 தன பணை முழக்கிஉங்¹ கொடுமைப் மாநகா நிறைந்த குரைக-
 132 டலப் பெருந்தாணை இடுமபைஉற¹ மிரியத் த[னி]ரனெனைய மெல[கொ]-
 133 ணடும புனற பொன்னி வடக்கைஇற⁵ பொழில புடைசூழ மதி-
 134 ன வஞ்சிக் கனறபட விழித்தெதிரந்த வீரா கவந்தமாடக க-
 135 ண சிவந்தூஞ் செவலுயா[கொ]டிக் கும[ர]னெனச சீறித் தெனறஞ்சை
 136 காவலந்து கரிதரகபதாதி ஸ[வ]ய[வ] களத் தவியப் பூமபுன [ன]வ-
 137 தபதிஇல⁵ வாம்புரவி பலங் காட்டிஉம்¹ விஜயபூஜை விசும ப-
 138 ணவச செங்கொ றிசைவிளிம பணவக குசைமாவுங் கொலைக் குன்றமு-
 139 ந் குருதிஆரமுங் குணந்தும் க[வ]வ[வ]ன[வ]ன ரடிவணங்க லை-

*Eighth Plate . First Side*⁸

- 140 ஹெ[ஜ]ஹொ[ஜ] மனுஹித்த விகடவாடவந் ஸ்ரீகாந்த மிநாங்கி[க]ஹெ[ஜ]
 141 நதிரன ராஜபரிவாமணி தென்னன ராஜிக[வ]ண[வ]ன னங்கொன எ-

¹ Read யு for உ

² The syllable *ṛ* has been inserted so close to *ṣ* that the *உ*-sign of the latter is not clearly seen.

³ To the right of the ring-hole in the figure '7' in Tamil and both the figure and the ring-hole are enclosed in a rectangle

⁴ Read ஸ்ரீ

⁵ Read யி for இ.

⁶ Read தெ

⁷ The letter *தி* may also be read as வி.

⁸ To the right of the ring-hole is the figure '8' in Tamil and both the ring-hole and the figure are enclosed in a double lined rectangle

- 142 ண்ணிறந்த¹ ப்ருஹுதேயமும எண்ணிறந்த டேவதாநமும எண்ணிறந்த ப-
 143 ண்ளசசநதமும எததிசை² மினிதியற்றி உராமபிலொ-
 144 தி ஓலிகடலபொ லொருங்கு முன்னந தானமைத்த வலி ரா-
 145 சசிககப்பெருங்குளக்கிழச சூழனக ரிருந்த-
 146 ருளி ராஜுவஷ-ம் இரண்டாவத னெதிர பதினானகா-
 147 ம யாண்டில மாக கொழுலூக்கூற்றத்து வருபுனல மிய-
 148 குண்டாறறுப [பு]ததாரெனப பெயரெய்திய கொததார்பொழிறுரா-
 149 மத்திற கொமர கௌரிக மொதததி லாஜிவெஸுகூத்தி லொம்பாழ-
 150 வரில மிக்கொ னுயாதரு பெருமபுகழ்ச செட்டிகுலமதலை கு-
 151 வலையஸூரந நலமிகு லாஷூரநநந தென்னவாகொன ஸ்ரீபராதக-
 152 ந ஸ்ரீவிரநாரண னருளால வடகனவழிநாட்டினகட டிசைச்சகட-
 153 ராமங்கவமெனனு மிடனுடைய ப்ருஹுதேய மெகவொமமாப்பெ-

Eighth Plate Second Side.³

- 154 நறென வதாவத ஸத்யஸூனையின பல[ர⁴]புகழ ஹாஸூரனசெ-
 155 டடிதன மாமகன ஸாயஸூ-ந ஸத்யிதூந ஸத்யஸூனையந படை-
 156 ககமலவனச செங்குழக கௌரிகந பராததகன தனக கநூஉரஹ-
 157 ஸூயனாகி முன்னுரைத்த அரைசாபிரான அநதணபுனலழனாட-
 158 டில நறசெயகைபுததாரதனை மந்தரமௌரவமங்க-
 159 லமெனனு தன பெயரிட்டுக க[ர]ரானமை மியாட்சி உள-
 160 ளடங்கக கண்டருளி ஏகவொம ப்ருஹுதேயமாக நனகு
 161 கொடுத்தருளினன [||⁵] மாகந தொய குடை மன்னவன ஸ்ரீ-
 162 ராஜஸிஹவஜீ-ந || சொழநாட்டுப புலமங்கலத்து சடைய-
 163 பிரான ஹட்டஸூராமயாகி⁶ விண்ணப்பஞ செய களவழிநாட்டு வெம்பறதூராக கூற்றந-
 கொன-
 164 ணை ஆளாகவும் கிழவெம்பனிடடுக⁷ கூரக்குமாணை குடிகாவல நாயகனாகவும் திருக-
 165 கானப்பொக்கூற்றத்துச கிறுசெவலூர நக்கங்காடனும் மிழலைகூ-
 166 றறத்து நடுவிறகூற்றிற னுஞ்சலூரப படாரஞ்சொலைஉம⁸ களாததி-
 167 ருக்கைப பெருங்காககூரக்கொன வெளானுந கணக்கராகவும் அழ[னா]-
 168 டடுனாட்டார நின மெலலை காட்டப பிடிசூழநத பெருநானகெலலை கிழை-
 169 லலை சுருளி ஆற்றுககு மெக்குந தென்னெலலை கமருளத்தில⁹

TRANSLATION

Sanskrit portion.

(Verse. 1) The ocean, in whose rows of bounding disturbed waves, as in a dancing hall, are (seen) like gems the sun, the stars and the moon, even when agitated at the end of the *Kalpa*, bore the form of his foot-stool.⁷

(V 2) (*Victorious*) was the family of him whose prowess had filled the earth and was a sun (*in destroying*) the might (*viz.*) the great heroism of its enemies. The kings of great glory and merited fame born in this (*family*), held the earth as their legally married wife.

¹ Read ப்ருஹு

² Read பு for உ

³ The ring-hole is enclosed in a double lined rectangle

⁴ Read ஹட்டஸூராமயாஜி.

⁵ Read னாட்டுக

⁶ Perhaps one or more plates after this are missing.

⁷ The missing invocatory verses and the abrupt introduction of a king (perhaps named Pāndya) whose greatness is described by verse 1, show that at least a single plate should have been lost, at the beginning. The submission of the ocean to the Pāndyas was a family tradition on which see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, p. 73, foot-note 80; Compare V. 4 of the Vēṭṭikūṭi grant, *Ep Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 298.

(V. 3.) Of the kings born in this (*family*) who had destroyed all enemy kings and had their edicts established on the snowy mountain, the priest was the venerable Agastya

(V. 4.) One (*of the kings*) born here, whose wealth was his honour, and who had killed the powerful demons in a battle between the gods and the demons, sat alone on the throne of the Lord of the gods (*i.e.*, Indra) in heaven brought down (*to earth*)

(V 5) Another wise king of right conduct, was an ambassador to secure victory for the gods; and (*still*) another of unopposed commands, caused the Ten-headed giant (*i.e.*, Râvana) to sue for peace

(V 6) (*Again*), in that family was born a king who was the husband of (Gangâ) the daughter of the friend of Nara (Arjuna) (*i.e.*, Vishnu), who (like Śiva) had three eyes (trilôchana)¹ whose virtue was praised by the three worlds, a matchless king who stirred the ocean and was a pupil of Agastya

(V 7) (*Another*) born in that (*family*) was adorned with the necklace of Hara (*i.e.*, Indra) (*which he had*) captured (*from him*) after breaking (*his*) wristlet on the head of the Lord of gods (*i.e.*, Indra); still (*another*) king born in that (*family*) conquered Vijaya (*i.e.*, Arjuna) and was the conflagration at the end of time to the cotton (*namely*) the army of the lord of the Kurus

(V 8.) Another (*king*) born in that (*family*) cut off his own head in order to save his master; and (*a king*) named Sundara-Pândya born in this (*family*) was a helmsman in the ocean of all Śâstras

(V 9) Countless number of emperors and kings born in this race attained godhood having performed numberless Râjasûya and Âsvamedha sacrifices Which mortal could describe them thoroughly?

(V 10) In that family was born king Arikêsa, the home of glory, who had controlled his passions His son (*was*) Jatila His son (*was*) the glorious (*and*) virtuous king Râjasimha His son (*was*) the wise Varaguna of great prowess His son (*was*) king Śrî-Mâra whose fame was delightful to hear and who was the invincible lord of wealth (*Śrîvallabha*).

(V 11) He (*i.e.*, Śrî-Mâra) the matchless hero, the beloved of his subjects, having conquered in battle Mâyâ-Pândya, the Kêrâla, the king of Simhala, the Pallava and the Vallabha, protected the earth under (*his*) one umbrella

(V. 12) His son, the younger brother of king Varaguna, was the virtuous king Parântaka, whose lotus-feet were brightened by the spreading lustre of the sun-like gems in the crowns of (*prostrating*) kings

(V 13) He quickly captured in a battle near Khara-giri the powerful (*king*) Ugra who possessed a herd of strong elephants whose tusks were red with the blood of enemy kings with an army (*which was*) the only sword (*held*) in hand

¹ It is not likely that here we have to take Trilôchana as a proper name Pândya kings in general are mentioned in Vv. 4—9; and no particular person, excepting Sundara-Pândya of V 8, is mentioned by name

- 142 ண்ணிறதத¹ ஸ்ரஹ்ஷெயமும் எண்ணிறதத ஷெவஷாதமும் எண்ணிறதத ப-
 143 ள்ளரிச்சநதமும் எத்திசைஉ² மினிதியற்றி உராமபிலொ-
 144 தி ஓளிகடலபொ லொருங்கு முன்னந தானமைத்த வலி ரா-
 145 சசிங்கப்பெருங்குளக்கிழச சூழனக ரிருந்த-
 146 ருளி ராஜுவஷ-ம் இரண்டாவத நெதிர பதினானகா-
 147 ம யாண்டில மாக கொழுஷாககூற்றதது வருபுனல மிய-
 148 குண்டாறறுப [பு]ததாரெனப பெயரெய்திய கொத்தாரபொழிறுரா-
 149 மத்திற கொமர கௌஸிக மொதூத்தி லாஜிவெஸுக்குத்தி லொம்பாழ-
 150 வரில மிக்கொ னுயாதரு பெருமபுகழ்ச செட்டிகுலமதலை கு-
 151 வலையஸ-ரந நலமிகு ஹாஷ்ரநநந தென்னவாகொன ஸ்ரீபராதக-
 152 ந ஸ்ரீவிரநாரண னருளால வடகளவழிநாட்டினகட டிசைச்சுட-
 153 ராமங்கலமென்னு மிடனுடைய ஸ்ரஹ்ஷெய மெகஹொமமாபபெ-

Eight Plate Second Side³

- 154 மறொன வதாவத ஸ்ரஹ்ஷெயின பவ[ர*]புகழ ஹாஷ்ரனசெ-
 155 டடிதன மாமகன ஸாய-ஹோஷ-ந ஸ்ரஹ்ஷெய ஸ்ரஹ்ஷெயந படை-
 156 ககமலவனச செங்குழக கௌஸிகந பராததகன நனக கந-ஹ்ரஹ-
 157 ஸ-ஹ்ரஹ்ஷெயின முன்னுரைத்த அரைசாபிரான அந்தணபுனலமுடை-
 158 டில நறசெயகைபுத்தாரதனை மந்தரமௌரவமங்க-
 159 லமென்னு தன பெயரிட்டுக க[ர]ராணமை மியாட்சி உள-
 160 ளடங்கக கண்டருளி ஏகஹொம ஸ்ரஹ்ஷெயமாக நனகு
 161 கொடுத்தருளினன [||*] மாகந தொய குடை மன்னவன ஸ்ரீ-
 162 ராஜஸிஹ்வஜ-ஹ் || சொழநாட்டுப புலமங்கலதது சடைய-
 163 பிரான ஹட்டஸோமயாசி⁴ விண்ணப்பஞ செய களவழிநாட்டு வெம்பறறாக் கூற்றந-
 கொளு-
 164 ணை ஆளாகவும் கிழவெம்பனிடடுக⁵ கூரக்குமாண குடிகாவல நாயகனாகவும் திருக-
 165 கானப்பொககூற்றததுச சிறுசெவ்வூர நககங்காடனும மிழலைகூ-
 166 மறதது நடுவிறகூற்றிற ஸ்ரஹ்ஷெய பட்டாருசொலைஉம⁶ களாததி-
 167 ருக்கைப பெருங்காக்கூரக்கொன வெளானுங் கணக்கராகவும் அழ[ன]-
 168 டுனாட்டார நின் மெலலை காட்டப பிடிசூழந்த பெருநானகெலலை கிழெ-
 169 லலை சுருளிஆற்றுககு மெக்குந தென்னெலலை கறகுளத்தில⁶

TRANSLATION

Sanskrit portion.

(Verse 1) The ocean, in whose rows of bounding disturbed waves, as in a dancing hall, are (seen) like gems the sun, the stars and the moon, even when agitated at the end of the *Kalpa*, bore the form of his foot-stool.⁷

(V 2) (*Victorious*) was the family of him whose prowess had filled the earth and was a sun (*in destroying*) the night (*viz*) the great heroism of its enemies The kings of great glory and merited fame born in this (*family*), held the earth as their legally married wife

¹ Read ஸ்ரஹ்

² Read யு for உ.

³ The ring-hole is enclosed in a double lined rectangle.

⁴ Read ஹட்டஸோமயாசி

⁵ Read னாட்டுக

⁶ Perhaps one or more plates after this are missing.

⁷ The missing invocatory verses and the abrupt introduction of a king (perhaps named Pândya) whose greatness is described by verse 1, show that at least a single plate should have been lost, at the beginning. The submission of the ocean to the Pândyas was a family tradition on which see *Ind Ant*, Vol. XXII, p. 73, foot-note 80; Compare V. 4 of the Vêṅvikudī grant, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 298.

(V. 3.) Of the kings born in this (*family*) who had destroyed all enemy kings and had their edicts established on the snowy mountain, the priest was the venerable Agastya

(V. 4) One (*of the kings*) born here, whose wealth was his honour, and who had killed the powerful demons in a battle between the gods and the demons, sat alone on the throne of the Lord of the gods (*i.e.*, Indra) in heaven brought down (*to earth*)

(V. 5) Another wise king of right conduct, was an ambassador to secure victory for the gods; and (*still*) another of unopposed commands, caused the Ten-headed giant (*i.e.*, Râvana) to sue for peace

(V. 6) (*Again*), in that family was born a king who was the husband of (Gangâ) the daughter of the friend of Nara (Arjuna) (*i.e.*, Vishnu), who (like Śiva) had three eyes (trilôchana)¹ whose virtue was praised by the three worlds, a matchless king who stirred the ocean and was a pupil of Agastya

(V 7) (*Another*) born in that (*family*) was adorned with the necklace of Hari (*i.e.*, Indra) (*which he had*) captured (*from him*) after breaking (*his*) wristlet on the head of the Lord of gods (*i.e.*, Indra), still (*another*) king born in that (*family*) conquered Vijaya (*i.e.*, Arjuna) and was the conflagration at the end of time to the cotton (*namely*) the army of the lord of the Kurus

(V 8) Another (*king*) born in that (*family*) cut off his own head in order to save his master; and (*a king*) named Sundara-Pândya born in this (*family*) was a helmsman in the ocean of all Śâstras

(V 9) Countless number of emperors and kings born in this race attained godhood having performed numberless Râjasûya and Âsvamedha sacrifices Which mortal could describe them thoroughly?

(V 10) In that family was born king Arîkêśari, the home of glory, who had controlled his passions His son (*was*) Jâtîla His son (*was*) the glorious (*and*) virtuous king Râjasîmha His son (*was*) the wise Varaguna of great prowess His son (*was*) king Śrî-Mâra whose fame was delightful to hear and who was the invincible lord of wealth (*Śrîvallabha*).

(V 11) He (*i.e.*, Śrî-Mâra) the matchless hero, the beloved of his subjects, having conquered in battle Mâyâ-Pândya, the Kêrala, the king of Simhala, the Pallava and the Vallabha, protected the earth under (*his*) one umbrella

(V 12) His son, the younger brother of king Varaguna, was the virtuous king Parântaka, whose lotus-feet were brightened by the spreading lustre of the sun-like gems in the crowns of (*prostrating*) kings

(V 13) He quickly captured in a battle near Kharagiri the powerful (*king*) Ugra who possessed a herd of strong elephants whose tusks were red with the blood of enemy kings with an army (*which was*) the only sword (*held*) in hand

¹ It is not likely that here we have to take Trilôchana as a proper name Pândya kings in general are mentioned in Vv 4—9; and no particular person, excepting Sundara-Pândya of V 8, is mentioned by name

(V. 14) This emperor, himself of meritorious fame, caused the circle of the earth to be filled with holy boundless Brâhmin settlements¹, numerous temples and countless tanks

(V. 15) The wife of that king was the glorious Vânavanmahâdvî, as Śrî (was) of Śrînivâsa (i.e., Vishnu) and as Paulômî (Śachî) (was) of Śatakratu (Indra).

(V. 16.) Of this queen was born to him, who was the abode of prosperity, the son, king Râjasimha who was the repository of intelligence, valour, stability, courage, nobility and liberality and who successfully scared away the heroism of (his) enemies

(V. 17) Having obtained him, the banner of (both) the (solar) (and the lunar) races, who caused the utmost grief to the host of enemy kings, satisfaction to the crowds of supplicants and fame (to reach) all directions, the earth (now) became (truly) possessed of a king

(V. 18) The requests of all supplicants are not enough for (i.e., to satisfy) his liberality; nor the enemies for his prowess; nor all the worlds for (his) lustrous fame; nor (again) the words of the Master of Words (i.e., Brihaspati) for praising (his) virtues

(V. 19) Dignified as Bhârata, he rules the earth filling all Brahmans with endless wealth, the enemies with ruin which fully deprives (them) of (their) wealth and the ten quarters with faultless fame

(V. 20) A great favourite of this lord, the king, was the glorious son of the illustrious Śrêshthîsarma, who was famous by the well-known name Parântaka, who was born in the Kauśika lineage, was possessed of wealth which was learning, who was the best of the upright and of famous descent, who was widely known, wise, dutiful and virtuous, of excellent character and highly modest

(V. 21) This (Parântaka) who was ever devoted for the good of others, who was the ocean (into which emptied itself) the river of learning and who was the Pârîjâta (celestial) tree (in fulfilling) the desires of all classes of wise men, was the grandson of him who was named Bhâskara, the sole repository of the Trayî (Vêdas), and the great-grandson of him named Śrêshthî who was the purest of the Śenkuti-Kauśikas of great religious austerity born in Puttâr, a mine of knowledge and modesty and the home of prosperity.

(V. 22.) His ancestors who had reached the (other) end of Vêdic (learning) established on this earth the extensive work called Kalpa written by Âgnivêśya²

(V. 23) His maternal grandfather was the famous Ūrâsarma, the chief of the residents of Syandana-grâma, of the Maudgalya (lineage), who was of high birth and noble character, illustrious, intelligent, famous and a prop of virtue

(V. 24) Knowledge, noble conduct, wealth, modesty, praiseworthy riches, a conscience ever attached to the lotus-feet of the lord of Lakshmi (Vishnu), a descent ever high and pure, permanent fame and superior intelligence—these were the rule in the family of him (i.e., Ūrâsarman) whose fame was widely known

(V. 25—27.) His (i.e., Parântaka's) father, the wise and illustrious Śrêshthîsarma, whose conduct was pure, who was as powerful and glorious as Pitâmaha

¹ The word *agrâhâra* is used in place of the usual word *agrahâra*, for the sake of the metre.

² Perhaps they were proficient in the *Âgnivêśya-kalpa*, the doctrine of medicine in which Âgnivêśya is said to have been a predecessor of Suśruta.

(Brahma) who was the one resort of modesty, intelligent, good and of noble descent whose fame was pleasant to hear and who was the leader of the wise, received from the heroic (*king*) Parântaka, lord Vîranârâyana of meritorious fame and an ornament of the Pândya race, the Brahman village (*agrahâra*) named Maniyâchi of unfailing fertility, (*which was*) a famous *agrahâra* (situated) in Vada-Kalavali-râshtra¹ re-naming (it) Tisai chchudarmangala

(Vv 28—32) The same god-like king of unfailing prosperity, who pleased the whole circle of the earth and satisfied (*his*) subjects, who destroyed the host of enemies, who was the banner of polity, whose prowess was (*equal to*) that of Śakra (*i.e.*, Indra) and who removed the troubles (*of the people*) on the circle of the earth, in the 16th year of his reign, while camping² in the famous village named Chûlal situated in the territorial division (*râshtra*) called Râjasimhakulakûl, gave with libations of water, to the Brahman, Parântakaśarmaṇ, the whole of the matchless and excellent *agrahâra* named Narcheygai-Puttûr situated in Ala-nâdu which was famous with its (*second*) name Mandaragauravamangalam, as a *brahmadêya* property, together with (*its*) *kârânmaṇ* and *myâtchi* and with (*its*) four boundaries marked off by the circumambulation of the female elephant

(V. 33) The *vyñapti* of this (grant) was the minister Jatila of respectable descent and a storehouse of prosperity who was the councillor of the king and a poet of the Atri-gôtra, who had performed (Vêdic) sacrifices

(V 34) The *âñapti* of this (grant) was the servant of that crest-jewel of warriors, the illustrious Mâravarmaṇ, who was descended of a pure family and was called Kûrrangôn

(V 35) A minister of the king, born at (*the village of*) Kûra, the son of a nobleman of Kûl-Vêmba-nâdu and known by the famous name Nakkankumân, was the master of the female elephant³ and the warden (*kudikâval*).

(V. 36.) Also Nakkana-Kâda, Kôn-Vêlân and he, called Patârân-Chôla—these (*three*) accountants were appointed (to supervise) the circumambulation of the female elephant

(V. 37.) Worshipped by all rulers, this (*king*) Abhimânamêru prostrates (*himself*) every day before all future kings with palms folded (*over his head*) (and saying) “ Oh ! pure-minded kings ! Protect (*this*) my gift ! ”

(V 38) Vâsudêva, the friend of Madhuraguna and the elder brother of Vishnu who had studied the whole (*science of*) literature and was the birth place of modesty and intelligence, composed this matchless *prasasti*

Tamil portion

(Line 76) Hail ! Prosperity ! May the prosperous family of the Pândyas live long—(*the family*) which came forth commencing with the white Moon enthroned on the brilliant

¹ *Râshtratah* has evidently to be understood in the sense of *râstrê*

² The word *âvâsât* may be compared with *âvâsakât* or *vâsakât* which often occur at the beginning of copper plate inscriptions

³ The significance of this attribute is not clear. The female elephant referred to is perhaps the one that circumambulated the village

planted hair of H a r a (*i.e.*, Śiva), and born (*from the milk ocean*) along with (*the goddess of*) prosperity, the pure ambrosia, the K a u s t u b h a (gem) of lustre like that of the Sun's and that single elephant (the Airāvata) of flowing rut,—a fit object of praise for the people of the four quarters which possesses the four (*divisions*) of the earth; which was justly extolled by B h â r a d v â j a and other (*sages*); which was beyond the reach of enemies; whose commands bore (*the seal of*) the double¹ fish, which had for its family priest (the sage) A g a s t y a of unequalled glory; which has been in existence through aeons and which counts (among its members) the one ever-lasting Being.²

(L. 84.) After many great kings and emperors born in this (*family*) who ruled right up to the boundaries of the heavens, (*such as*) he who churned the billowy ocean and obtained nectar; he who bathed in a single day³ in the four oceans, causing admiration to the people of the four (*divisions of*) the earth, who with a crown (*bedecked*) with gems of faultless lustre, wore (*also*) an anklet of white conch, he who went round the globe of the earth; he who sent ambassadors on several occasions to the gods of matchless victory, he who carried away the garland of P â k a ś â s a n a (*i.e.*, Indra), he who, appearing with ornaments of valuable gems, mastered the T a m i l (*language*) of the south; he who by throwing a sharp-edged javelin caused the quick return of the sea, acquired the name P ū l i y a n; who gave away thousands (of gifts) of the golden hill (Mêru), he who stood firmly in the field (*of battle*) at P â l i and obtained the name P a ñ c h a v a n, he who founded the prosperous city of M a d u r a and built (*a surrounding*) wall for it; he who with the supreme intelligence of his mind, was profoundly versed in the beautiful T a m i l and S a n s k r i t and became the foremost among scholars, he who led the elephants in the B h â r a t a (*war*) so as to destroy the great charoteers in a hill-battle⁴, he who relieved V i j a y a (Arjuna) from the curse of Vasu, he who drove (*his enemies*) to the forest so that they might be scorched up and destroyed (*there*) and had the blameless (*royal emblems*) of the big fish, the tiger and the bow engraved on the top of the Northern Mountain (*i.e.* the Himâlayas), he who, securing the services of huge giants, restored many tanks and relieved the country from disease and pinching hunger, he who with a dreadful sword cut off the heads of two kings that advanced against him in the battles at C h i t r m u y a r i and T a l a i y â l a n g â n a m and stopped the dance of their (*two*) headless trunks and he who had the M a h â b h â r a t a translated into T a m i l and had established the "Śangam" in the town of M a d h u r a. had ruled the circle of the earth and had passed away

(L. 104) Then (*came*) P a r â n k u ś a, the king of the P a ñ c h a v a s (*i.e.*, Pândyas) who saw the back of the C h é r a king (*Villavan*) at N e l v ê l i and that of the P a l l a v a (king) at Ś a n k a r a m a n g a i of extensive pleasure gardens His grandson (*was*) R â j a s i m h a, the lord of kings (*Next came*) king V a r a g u n a-M a h â r â j a whose feet (*wearing*) anklets are worshipped by monarchs⁵ His son was P a r a c h a k r a k ô l â h a l a, who bore the burden of the earth, who wore (*a victorious garland of*) never-fading *vâgai*

¹ It is possible that *dvaya* here stands for *dhvaja* = banner.

² The reference is evidently to the story in the Hâlâsyapurâṇa of Śiva himself being counted as one of the Pândyas

³ *I.e.*, day time.

⁴ [*Mahârata* and *Malakalam* may preferably be left untranslated The former may refer to a people and the latter to a field of battle The passage when so altered would stand thus —“Who led his elephants into Bhârata and caused the Mahârathas to be destroyed at Malai-kalam.—K V.S.]

⁵ The relationship existing between Râjasimha and Varaguna-Mahârâja is not given.

(flowers)¹ at Kunnîr, (*surrounded by*) gardens of delightful fragrance, at Śingalam and at Viliñam, who firmly wielded his sceptre and who shining with the prowess of the Sun and shooting from (*his*) bow-string sharp and deadly arrows on Ganga, Pallava, Chôla, Kalinga, Magadha and other (*kings*) that came to give battle and opposed (*him*) at Kudamîkkil of fragrant and blooming flower-gardens and made them bathe in a big river of blood

(L 113) (*Next came*) Varagunavarman, the lord of kings, whose feet were worshipped by kings (*wearing*) jingling anklets on their legs, and who by (*his*) beautiful long arms resembling hills, made the earth his own

(L 115) His younger brother, the glorious warrior Parântakan Śadaiyan, the king whose conduct (*followed the rules prescribed by*) Manu, who wore many golden ornaments, who put on a golden crown decorated with gems, who showered arrows from (*his*) powerful bow so that the elephant troops whose (long) trunks touched the earth, the horse battalions and the infantry (of the enemies) fell on the earth at (*the battle of*) Śennilam, who captured at Kharagiri crowds of files of powerful elephants of enemy (*kings*) and won a battle at Nilambêr, who had destroyed the extensive Pennâgadam, who with the help of a single powerful prancing horse, won battles in the extensive Kongu (*country*), who performed many (*gifts of*) *dēvadāna* (*lands*) and restored many *brahmadēya* (grants) and who subdued the whole of India (*Nāvattīvu*)², having also gone to heaven

(L. 123.) The first son of the goddess of the (lotus) flower (i. e., Lakshmi) called Vānavanmahādēvi, was he the king of the Mīnavar, (i. e., the Pāndyas) Rājasimha Vikatavādavan³, who having himself borne (*easily*) by the strength of his broad shoulders, the great burden of the circle of the earth which the lord of serpents (i. e., Śēsha) bears with much difficulty by his thousand heads, became distinguished as "the strong-armed that relieved the serpent Lord of (*the pain of*) carrying the earth", who at Ulappinimangalam pierced the bodies of the enemies that attacked (*him*), and gave (*their*) blood, the superior (*position*) of becoming the scented cosmetics of the good goddess Earth, who sounded his drum when the king of the Tañjai (*country*) (*full of*) water flowing from sluices, ran away surrendering his arms,⁴ at Naippûr which was filled with mountain-like battalions⁵; who commenced his battle⁶ at the big city of Kodumbai where the assembled (*enemy's*) forces, vast like the roaring ocean, dispersed suffering affliction; whose looks caused (*the town of*) Vañji with walls surrounded on all sides by flower-gardens (*and situated*) on the northern bank of the Kâvêrî (*Ponni*) abounding in water to be consigned to flames, and whose eyes which became red (*with anger*) made to dance the headless bodies of the heroes that opposed him, who like Kumâra (Skanda) of the high cockflag, swelled with rage and displayed the strength of (*his*) galloping steeds by destroying in the battle at the beautiful and well watered town of Nâval the crowds of elephants, horses and foot-men of the lord of the southern Tañjai (*country*) (*His*) victorious flag reaching the sky, his sceptre wielded (*right*) up to the ends of quarters, acquiring the bridled horse, the chief mountain and the blood-red garland, was enjoying the pleasure of Mahêndra with his prosperous sons worshipping at his feet, the king Vikatavādava, the lord of Prosperity, who marked the chief of mountains with his fish

¹ *I.e.*, 'was victorious at'

² The Jambudvîpa.

³ The great sub-marine fire to the ocean of his enemies

⁴ The phrase *pudai-pporisârm tandu* has been tentatively translated 'surrendered his arms'.

⁵ *Tānai varai* has perhaps to be taken as an adjective qualifying Naippûr

⁶ The phrase may also be interpreted as "having mounted on the back of his (elephant) Ranôdaya."

emblem, the crest-jewel of kings, this lord of the south (*Tennan*), of many brilliant virtues having founded with pleasure in every direction numberless *brahmadēyas*, numberless *dēvadānas*, and numberless *pallichehandan*

(L. 143) Being pleased to stay in the town of Chûlâl (*situated*) in Râjaśingaperungulam, abounding in wreath of water-lilies and resembling the noisy ocean which was formerly founded by himself—in the 14th year opposite the 2nd year of his reign, the Brâhman Bhâskaran-Śetti who was like the lotus-born (Brahmâ) and was praised by all, the son of the virtuous Bhâskara, the chief of the noble and illustrious race of the Śettis, the foremost of Ombâlvas of the Âgnivêśya-kalpa and the Komara-Kauśika-gôtra (living) in the village Kôttârpôlil¹ named Puttûr in the watery Miṃgundârû (district) (*which was included*) in the big (*district of*) Koluvûrkûrram, having obtained as *ekabhôga* the *brahmadēyu* consisting of the place (called) Tîśaichchudarmangalam in Vada-Kalavalinâdu, by the grace of the Pândya king the glorious Parântakan śrî-Vîranâranan.

(L. 155) The chief of kings mentioned above, the illustrious Râjasimhavarman, the sovereign whose umbrella touched the sky, desirous of doing some good to Parântaka the famous son of Bhâskaran Śetti (*i.e.*, Śetti son of Bhâskara) who walked in the path of the virtuous, a Kauśika of Śengudi (surrounded by) a forest of lotuses, the friend of the created beings and the home of good qualities, was pleased to kindly confer as *ekabhôga-brahmadēya* together with *kârdnmai* and *mīyâtchi* (the village) Narcheygai. Puttûr in Alâ-nâdu of beautiful streams of cool water which he was pleased to found calling it Mandaragauravamangalam after his own name

(L. 162) The *vinṇappam* (of this grant) was Śadayapirân Bhattasomayâjin of Pullamangalam in Śôlâ-nâdu, the *âñṇaphi* (*ânai-âl*) (of the grant) was Kûrrangôn of Vêmbarrûr in Kalavalinâdu; the chief warden (*Kudikâval-nâyan*) was Kumân of Kûra in Kîl-Vêmba-nâdu and the accountants were Nakkân-Kâdan of Śîru-Śevûr in Tirukkânappêrkûrram, Patârañ-Chôlai of Tuñjalûr in Naduvîrkûrram (a sub-division) of Mîlalaik-kûrram and Kôn-Vêlân of Peruṅgâkkûr (near) Kalâttirukkai.

(L. 167) The residents (*nâttâi*) of Alâ-nâdu being appointed to mark the boundary line, the female elephant was led around and (the following) four big boundaries were thus (marked) The eastern boundary (was) to the west of Śuruliyaârû, the southern boundary (was) in Karkulam²

TEXT³

[Metres: Vv. 1—4, *Anushtubh.*]

First Plate

1 स्वस्ति⁴ [॥⁵] पत्मा⁶[सु]जपरिष्वंगप्रमदोत्पुष्कायु[धी]:⁶[॥⁵] विद्यायशोविमूती-

2 न्नः पुष्पात् पुरुषोत्तम⁷]: ॥—[१] अन्वयस्सुचिरं स्थेयाद⁷मृतां-

¹ [Mr Venkayya has also treated *Kôttârpôlil* as a proper noun and as a surname of the village Puttûr. I would prefer to read *Kôttârpôli* instead of *Kôttârpôlil* and take it as an adjunct to *grâma* (village) meaning “(surrounded) by a forest filled with bunches of flowers”—K V S.]

² The inscription is incomplete. One or more copper-plates must be missing.

³ From the original plates and a set of ink impressions prepared by the office of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras.

⁴ These two syllables are engraved on the margin of the plate opposite to line 4.

⁵ Read पद्मा°

⁶ Read °कायुधी । Perhaps the *visarga* after धी was meant for a दण्ड

⁷ The actual reading is °यादमृतां°

TWO PANDYA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM SINNAMANUR—(B)

2

Handwritten text in Tamil script on a copper plate, showing lines 2 through 8. The text is densely packed and written in a traditional style.

2

4

6

8

na.

Handwritten text in Tamil script on a copper plate, showing lines 10 through 18. The text is densely packed and written in a traditional style.

10

12

14

16

18

nb

Handwritten text in Tamil script on a copper plate, showing lines 20 through 28. The text is densely packed and written in a traditional style.

20

22

24

26

28

271

Handwritten text in Tamil script on a copper plate, showing lines 30 through 38. The text is densely packed and written in a traditional style.

30

32

34

36

38

3 शुसमुद्धवः [1*] सुरारिदर्पहन्तारो नरेन्द्रा यत्र जज्ञिरे ॥ [२+] கட்டுத-

4 கிராண(ன) னனவயத்திராவணன தழிவகல ஸரீரபீவத த-

5 ஸாரமணதூலை அழியச சிலை குனிதது வடவரையதுவலா-

6 ரகுனிகை மணிக்கெண்டைப்பொறி சூட்டியுந தெனவரைமி-

7 சைக குஹிராவநது திருதமிழிற செவி கழுவிடும் ஹரிஹய-

8 நது ஹாரம பூண்டு ஶீ-ஸாஸந மவனெ டெறிஉரு¹ சரிவனையவன-

9 திருமுடிமிசைத் தூணி பலபடத தொளொச்சு¹ மொத மி-

Second Plate : First Side

10 ள வெவெறிநதும் மொராரூரங்² கூதுச செயதும் ஹுதமணம்

11 பணியாணமும் ஹவநதமும் பொது நிககியும் யானை யாயி-

12 ர மையயமிட்டு(ம) மபரிமித மதிரயங்கள் செய தூ-

13 னமில புகழ்ப பாணுவம்ஸத் தொலொகநாயா பலா கழி-

14 நதபின ஜஹிதயஸொராராஸிஜ்-பதூவஜ்-ன³ மகனாகிப ப-

15 கை(ப)ஹுலா தலை பணிப்பப பாஹேஸூரன வெளி[ற]பட்டு⁴ சரிகெஸ-

16 நி சஸலேனை கலுவலிசூரந ககராகா(ன)னெனத தன்-

17 கருரியன பல ஹணநாம முலகுமுழு துகநதெததப பரா-

18 வனிபகுவ மிறஞ்ச⁵ப பாசகலம் பொது நிககி ஶீராவாரா

19 திடரகல ஶீரவஷ-ம்⁶] பொழித[ற]கு வறாஹகத்தின வுதம் கொண்-

Second Plate : Second Side.

20 டு துறாவார மினிதெறி ஸரணுய யுலகளிதது ஹிரணு-

21 மஹ-மிருகால புகு மொஸஹவரததுடக்கததுக ஹரு[உ]-

22 னம் பல செய்து வாஸவன பொல விற்றிருநதன்ன வஸ-

23 யாவதி ஶாரவஜ்-ன [1+] மதறவறகு மகனாகி மதிபுரையுங் கு-

24 டைநிழல வறற மினறி அவனினை முட்டும-

25 பி அருளபயநது கலுக்கத்தின வுதம் கொண்டு கலிகல-

26 ஷ மறநிககி அறபமலலா உருவ-கொடுத தவனிஸ-ர ரி-

27 டாரநிககிக கருதாது வந்தெதிரநத கழலவெநதருட-

28 னவிய மருதாரொடு குவனைமலையு மததவெழகு செல வுநதிச-

Last Plate.⁶

29 ககுத கிழக்கும வடவெலலை கொற்றனபுத்தார பகவதிகொஇஹ⁷-

30 ககுத தெற[கு+] மிவவிதைத்த⁷ பெருநானகெலையுடபட்டது ஸஹ-வரி-

31 ஹாரஞ் செய்துகுடுத்து⁸ மிதறகாணத்தி[ப+]பட்டா னண்டனாட்டுக

32 குணோக்கூற்றததுக குணே ருத்தரமநதிரியாயின தாயன

33 சிவகன இதன புறங்காவ வெண்பததைவகலங் குடுக்க பது-

34 து⁹ 10 மாற்றிதனைக காததார [த+]ன¹¹ மலரடி என முடி மெலன எனறு கொற-

35 மவனெய பணித்தருளித தெற்றெனத தா¹²ஸாஸநஞ் செய[வி]ததான [1*]

¹ Read யு for உ.

² Read மி for இ

³ Compare with this metrical attribute जगद्गीत-
यशोराशि, the similar attribute यरणिधरणहरणराजित
applied to Rājāsīmha III in the Bigger Śinnamanūr
plates, Text—line 127.

⁴ The letter ம் is corrected from ச.

⁵ Read மிறைஞ்ச-

⁶ How many plates may be missing before this
cannot be determined

⁷ Read ஃவிசைத்த

⁸ Read ஃகுதேதோமி

⁹ Read ஃபட்ட-து,

¹⁰ Read மறநி

¹¹ Read ஃதம்.

36 सदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसु[न्व]राम् [1*] षष्ठी वर्षसहस्राणि

37 विद्यायाज्ञायते कृमी । [1+] [३+] ब्रह्मस्वरत्न'णादन्यत्पुण्यमूलन विद्यते [1+] तस्याति-

38 [क्रमणादन्यत्पा]मूलन विद्यते [11+][४*] பாண்டி[ப]பெருமபுண்ணைகாசன மகன் சுரிகௌரி
எழுத்து |

TRANSLATION.

(V. 1) Hail! May Purushôttama (*i.e.*, Vishnu) who wears his characteristic weapons² and whose hairs stand on end in the rapture of an embrace from the arms of Padmâ (*i.e.*, Lakshmî), profusely grant us knowledge, fame and prosperity

(V. 2.) May the family prosper long, that which is produced from the nectar-rayed (Moon), in which were born kings who crushed the pride of the enemies of gods (*i.e.*, demons).

(L. 3.) After a number of kings of the Pândya family of endless fame (*born*) in the race of the Moon,—who drew their bow to cut off the heads of crowds of *Asuras* on the battle-front, to prevent the destruction of Âkhandala (*i.e.*, Indra); who decorated the adamantine crest of the Northern Mountain (*i.e.*, the Himalayas) with the (royal) sign of the beautiful carp; who bathed their ears with the sweet Tamil of Kumbhôdbhava (*i.e.*, Agastya), residing on the top of the Southern Mountain³, who wore the necklace of Harîhaya (*i.e.*, Indra) and sat with him on one half of his throne; who raised (*their*) arms showering many (*arrows*) from (*their*) quivers on the sacred crown of Śurivalaîyavan; who threw the javelin in order to drive back the (*encroaching*) sea; performed a thousand sacrifices, exacted service from crowds of goblins; released the expanse of Earth of (*her*) common possession (*by kings*), bestowed on supplicants a thousand elephants and did many (*other*) astounding deeds—had passed away;

(L. 14) there was seated on the (Pândya) throne like Vâsava (Indra), the king, the great lord Mâravarmān,—who being the son of Jayantavarman whose great fame was sung by the world, burst forth causing the heads of hostile kings to tremble, (his) many characteristic titles (*such as*) Arikêsarî, Asamasaman, Alanghyavikraman and Akâlakâlan, being ravishingly proclaimed by the whole world, a host of enemy kings prostrating, released the extensive Earth of (*its*) common possession (*by other kings*), resolved to act in the fashion of the thunder cloud in raining gold on Brâhmanas and removed their distress; ascended the *Tulâbhâra* with pleasure, ruled the world offering protection to all, entered twice the (*womb of*) *hiranyagarbha* and made many other great gifts beginning with *gôśahasra*

(L. 23.) And his son was . . . who having immediately protected without a flaw the circle of the Earth brought (*her*) under the shade of his moon-like umbrella, who in giving forth benevolence resolved to act in the fashion of the wishing tree (*Kalpaka*), expelled completely the sins of the Kalî (*age*), averted the misery of the gods of Earth (*i.e.*, Brâhmanas) by giving great wealth, who at Marudûr and Kuvalaimalai drove rutting elephants (*into the battle-field*) so that heroes wearing anklets who opposed, attacked or unwarily advanced and stood in his way became extinct, who . . .

¹ Read रक्ष °

² These are the conch, disc, club and the lotus.

³ The Podiyil hill in the Tinnevely district is said to have been the seat of Agastya

(L. 29) to the east of , the northern boundary (was) to the south of the Bhagavatî temple of Korranputtûr (*The land*) comprised within the thus-described four big boundaries was given away with all exemptions. Its *ânatti* (Skt *âjñāpti*) was Tâyan Singan who was the *uttaramantri* of Kundûr (*a village*) in Kundûr-kûrram of Anda-nâdu. The *purankâval*¹ to be given on this (*land*) is eighty-five kalam (*of paddy*).

(L. 34.) "The flower-like feet of those that protect this (*gift*) shall be on my crown": So saying, the king himself graciously ordered and had (*this*) copper edict executed at once.

[Verses 3 and 4 are the usual imprecations.]

(L. 38.) (This is) the signature of Arîkêsari, son of Pândi-Perumbanaikâran.

FIVE CHOLA COPPER-PLATES FROM TIRUKKALAR

No. 207.—TIRUKKALAR PLATE OF RAJENDRA-CHOLA I.

These are five copper-plates belonging to the Pârijâtavanêśvara temple at Tirukkalar, a village ten miles south-east of Mannârgudi in the Tanjore district². A short notice of these appeared in Dr Hultzsch's *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1902—03, paragraph 17. The report also contains a list of 23 stone inscriptions which were copied from the same temple.³ These five copper-plates, strung on a copper-ring of 5" diameter, have flat rims, measure 1' $\frac{2}{8}$ " \times 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ " each, weigh together 566 tolas and have ring-holes bored in the middle of the left margin about an inch from the edge. They contain in them five complete inscriptions of different Chôla kings. The first of them, which is also the earliest, is a record of Parakêsarivarman Râjendra-Chôla I who ascended the Chôla throne in A.D. 1012. It begins with the king's usual historical introduction commencing with the words திரு மனனி வளர, enumerates his conquests up to the capture of Kadâram, is dated in the 18th year of his reign and registers the extent of the *dêvalâna* lands belonging to the temple of Mahâdêva at Tirukkalar which is said to be a village in Purangarambai-nâdu, a subdivision of Arumolidêva-valanâdu.

Compared with the inscription of this king found at Trumalar⁴, dated in the 13th year of reign and his Tanjore epigraph⁵, dated in the 19th year of reign, the present inscription furnishes a few differences in reading which are noticed in foot-notes.

The identification of all the place names occurring in the historical introduction has been made by Professor Hultzsch⁶, and it remains to note here only a few facts in this connection. Idaiturai-nâdu which has been taken to be Yedatore, a small village in the Mysore district by Mr Rice, has since been shown by Dr Fleet to be identical with the

¹ *Purankâval* is evidently the same as *puravi* of the Gudumallam plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 6, text—line 54).

² Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 280.

³ Nos. 642 to 655 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1902. They belong to the reigns of the Chôla kings Tribhuvanachakravartin Râjâdhirâja, Râjarâja, Vîrarâjêndia and Kulôttunga, the Pândya kings Jatâvarman Tribhuvanachakravartin Śrîvallabha and Mâravarma Kulasêkhara and the Vijayanagara sovereigns Viruppanna and Vîra-Bhûpati.

⁴ Edited in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 229 ff.

⁵ *Above*, Vol. II, pp. 105 ff. No. 20.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 230—1.

territorial division Ede dore, two thousand, a tract of country lying between the rivers Krishnâ on the north and Tungabhadra on the south, comprising a large part of the present Raichur district¹ The Kanyâkumâri inscription of Vîrarâjendra shows that Mannâikadakkam is not to be identified with Manne in the Nelamangala taluk of the Bangalore district but is the same as Mânyakhêta, which Râjendra-Chôla is said to have made a playground for his armies² Chakkara-kôttam has been satisfactorily identified by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal with Chitrakûta or 'kôta, eight miles from Râjapura in the Bastar State. he has also adduced epigraphical evidence to show that its king was really Dhârâvarsha in A D 1111³, as stated in the epigraphs of Kulôttunga I Dakshina-Lâdam has been taken to be Dakshina-Vîrâta or Southern Berars; but it looks likely that it is identical with Dakshina-Râdha in Bengal⁴. Śrî-Vijaya appears under the form Śrî-Vishaya in a Kandiyyûr inscription⁵ of the same king, and the large Leyden grant states that Mâravijayôttungavarman was the overlord of this territory⁶ This has been taken to be the same as San-fotsai of the Chinese annals and has been identified with Palembang, a residency of Sumatra⁷

TEXT

First Plate: First Side.

- 1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ || திரு மன்னி வளர இருநிலமடநதையும் பொரச்சயப்பரவையும் சீர்த்த-
- 2 னிச செவலியுந தன பெருந்தெவியராகி யினபு⁸ நெடிதிய⁹ லூழியு ளிடைத்துறை
- 3 நாடும துடாவனவெலிப படா வனவாசியும் ¹⁰சூளனிச சூழ¹¹மதிட கொளளிப்பாககையு-
- 4 ம நண்ணற கருமரண¹² மண்ணை கூடக்கமும் பொருத¹³ரீழத்தரையாத முடியு மாங்கவா
தெவிய
- 5 சொங்கெழிநமுடியு முன்னவா [ப]ககற நென்னவா வைத்த சுந்தரமுடியு மிந்திரநாரமுந்
தெ-
- 6 ண்டிரை யீழமண்டல முழுவதும் எறிபடைக ¹⁴கொள முறைமையிற சூடுங் குலதன-
- 7 மாகிய பலா புகழ் முடியும் செங்கதிர்மாலையும் சங்கதிர் வெலைத் தொலபெ-
- 8 ருங்காவற பல பழநதீவும செருவிற் சினவி விருபத்தொருகா லரைசுக்கை கடட பரசுரா-
- 9 மன மெவருஞ் சாரதிமத்தீவரண கருதி யிருத்திய செம்பொற் திருத்தகு முடியும் பயங்-
கொ-

¹ *Ibid*, Vol XII, p. 296

² *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, pp 119 and 156.

³ *Ep Ind*, Vol. IX, p 179. Mr. Hira Lal would substitute "Kulôttunga conquered king Dhârâvarsha at Chakrakôttam" for "Kulôttunga conquered the king of Dhârâ at Chakrakôttam". See foot-note 2.

⁴ *Memoirs of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol LXI, p 7 ff

⁵ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1894-5, paragraph 12.

⁶ *Arch Survey of Southern India*, Vol. IV, p 218.

⁷ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol XXVI, p 73 and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 313

⁸ Tr reads இனபுற. Here and in the following foot-notes, Tr. denotes the Tirumalai inscription of Râjendra-Chôla I, published in *Ep Ind*, Vol IX, pp. 229 ff

⁹ Here and in the following foot-notes, Tj denotes the Tanjore inscription of Râjendra-Chôla I published in Vol. II, above, pp. 105 ff. Tj. and Tr read நெடுதியல

¹⁰ சூளனி is a mistake for சூளனி

¹¹ சூழ is the reading in Tr and Tj

¹² முரண is the reading in Tr and Tj

¹³ This reading occurs in Nos 9, 10 and 82 of *South-Ind Inscr.*, Vol II

¹⁴ Read கொளா.

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- 10 பெழி மிக முயங்கியில¹ முதுகிடடொளித்த சயசிங்கன அளபபெரும்² புகழொடு³ பிடியி-
விரட்டபாடி யெழ-
11 ரை யிலக்கமும் நவனெதிக்குலபபெரும்லைகளும்⁴ வீக்கிரமவீரா சக்கரகொட்டமு முதிர்-
⁵வடவலலை மது-
12 ர மண்டலமும் காமிடைவன நாமணை(ய)க்கொணையும்⁶ வெஞ்சிலை⁷ வீரா பஞ்சபபள்ளி-
யும் பாசடைப-
13 முன மாசணிதெசமும்⁸ அயாவிலவணபூரத்தியையாதினுகா⁹வையிற சந்திரன ஞாலகுலத்-
திரதிராதனை¹⁰ [வி]-
14 லையமாககனத்தக கிளையொடும் பிடித்துப் பலதனத்தொடு நிறைகுலதனக்குவையும்¹¹ கிட்-
டருஞ்செ-

Second Side

- 15 நிமிளை [டு]யாட்டவினெயமும் பூசுரா சொ நலக கொசலைஞாடும் தனம்பாலனை வெம்-
முனை யழித்து வ-
16 ணதறை சொலை தண்டபுத்தியும் இரணஞ்சுரனை முரணுக¹² ததாககித் திககனை கீரத்தித்
தக்கணலாடமும் கொ-
17 விரதசந்தன மாவிழிந்தொடத் தங்காத சாரல வங்காளதெசமும் தொடுகழற் சங்குவொ-
ட்டல¹³ மயிபாலனை வெ-
18 ஞசமா விளாகத் தஞ்சுவித்தருளி யொண்டிமல யானையும் பெண்டிர் பண்டாரமும் நித்தில
நெடுங்கட லு-
19 ததிரலாடமும் வெறிமலாததீரத் தெறிபுனற் கங்கையும¹⁴ அலைகடனடுவட¹⁵ பலகலஞ்
செலுத்திச் சங்கிராம-
20 வினெஜையொத்துங்கபனமனுகிய கடாரத்தரையனை வாகையம்¹⁶ பொரு[க]டக்கு¹⁷[மப]-
ககரி-
21 யொடு மகப்படு[த் துரி]மையிற பிறக்கிய பெருநெதிப் பிறக்கமும் ஆர்த்தவனகனகாப்
பொ-
22 ரத்தொழில் வாசலில் விசசாதர¹⁸ (தொ)தொரணமு மொயத்தொளிர புனைமணிப்புதவமு-
ம கன-

¹ Tr has முசங்கியல, while Tj reads முயங்கியல The change of ச and ய is quite ordinary.

² Tj. has அளபபெரும்

³ Tr. and Tj. read பிடியல. Correct பிடியில into பிடியல்.

⁴ Read வீக்கிரம

⁵ Tr. reads பட

⁶ In place of வளநாமணை(ய)க்கொணையும், Tr. reads வளைய நாமணைக்கொணமும், but Tj has வளநாமணைக்கொணையும்

⁷ For வெஞ்சிலை (= of fierce arrow) of Tr and Tk, Tj. has வெஞ்சின (= of fierce anger).

⁸ For பாசடை பழனமாசணி தெசமும் of Tj and Tk., Tr. has பாசடை பழநன் மாசணிதெசமும்.

⁹ வணபூரத்தி(மை) யாதினுகா of the Tk., generally occurs as வணகிரத்தி ஆதி நகா (Tr. and Tj.). The change of நகா into ஞகா is correct

¹⁰ For குலத்திரதிராதனை of Tj. and Tk., Tr. has குலத்திரதனை where திர is perhaps omitted before ரதனை.

¹¹ For கிடடருஞ் of Tj. and Tk, Tr. has கிடடரும which is perhaps an engraver's mistake.

¹² For முரணுக of Tj and Tk, Tr. has முரணுற.

¹³ The reading தொடு கழற் சங்குவொட்டல agrees with that given in Tj., but Tl. has சங்கு கொட்டல.

¹⁴ While Tj reads வெறிமலாததீரத்தத் தெறிபுனலக்கங்கை, Tr has வெறிமணறதீரத்தத் தெறிபுனற்-
கங்கை, and Tk, வெறிமலாததீரத் தெறிபுனற்கங்கை

¹⁵ For னடுவட of Tk, னடுவட is the reading in Tj. Both are correct.

¹⁶ While Tk reads வாகையம், Tj has வாகயம்.

¹⁷ In place of கடக்குமபககரி, an Uttaramallūr inscription reads கடல் கும்பககரி. (see note 6 on page 107 above)

¹⁸ A different reading of this is விசசாதிர: see *South-Ind. Insers.*, Vol. II, p. 107.

- 23 மணிககதவமும் நிறை ஸ்ரீவிஜெயமும்¹ துறைநீர்ப்பனனைபு² மனமலையுரையிற ரென
மலை[யு]-
- 24 ரும் ஆழகடலகழஞ்சூழ மாயிருடிங்கமும் கலங்கா வலவினை யிலங்காசொபமும்³ காப்புறு
நிறை-
- 25 புனல மாபப்பாளமும் காவலம்புரிசை மெவிவிமபங்கமும்⁴ விளைபபைந தூறுடை வ-
ளைபபைநதூ⁵-
- 26 றும் கலைத்தககொரா புகழ் தலைத்தககொலமும்⁶ தீயதமாவலவினை⁷ மாதமலிங்க[முங்
கலா]முதிர கடுந்திறல இலாழ-
- 27 ரிதெசமும் தெனக்கலா⁸ பொழிவ மானக்கவாழமுந தொடுகழற⁹காவற கடுமுரட கடா-
ரமு மாப்பொரு தண்டாற கொ[ண+]ட கொ-
- 28 பபாசெசரிபனமரான உடையார ஸ்ரீராஜெந்திரசொழ்தெவாகு யாண்டு பதினாட்டா-
வது அருமொழிதெவ[வ]-
- 29 ளநாட்டு புறங்காமபை நாட்டு வெங்ககாக்கள திருக்களா ழைவாடெவா ழெவதாநம நிலம
இ
- 30 யகுவலிவநநிலம் வளை[யி]றசுறறு மிகிதிகுறைவு¹⁰ உள்ளடங்க ||வ-

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the eighteenth year (of the reign of) king Parakêśari-
varman alias Udayâr Śrî-Râjendra-Chôḍaḍêva, in (his) life of high pros-
perity, while Tîru (Lakshmî), having become constant, was increasing, (and) while the
goddess of the great earth, the goddess of victory in battle, and the matchless goddess of
fame rejoiced to have become his great queens,—conquered with (his) great, warlike army
(the following).—

Idaïdurai-nâdu, Vanavâsi, whose unbroken hedge of forest (trees) was
extending, Kollippâkkai, whose walls were surrounded with brushwood;
Mannaiikkadakkam, whose fortification was unapproachable, the crown of the king
of Îlam who came to close quarters in fighting, the exceedingly fine crowns of the queens
of that (king), the beautiful crown and Indra's pearl necklace, which the king of the
south (i.e., the Pândya) had previously deposited with that (king of Îlam), the whole
Îla-mandala (on) the transparent sea, the crown praised by many and the garland
emitting beautiful rays, family treasures, which the (kings of) Kêrala, whose armies
possessing missile weapons, rightfully wore, many ancient islands whose old, great guard
was the ocean which resounds with its conches, the crown of pure gold, worthy of Tîru
(Lakshmî) which Paraśurâma, having considered the fortifications of Śândimattivu
impregnable, had deposited (there), when, in anger (he) bound the kings twenty-one times in
battle, the seven and a half lakshas of I rattapâdi (which was) strong by nature, (and
which he took), together with immeasurable fame, (from) Jayasimha, who, out of fear,
turned his back at Musangi and hid himself (thus earning) great infame, the principal
great mountains (which contained) the nine treasures (of Kubêra), Śakkarakôttam
(guarded by) brave warriors, the ancient and strong northern Madura-mandala,
Nâmanaikkônâam, which was surrounded by dense groves, Pañchapalli
(protected by) warriors (who bore) cruel bows, the moth (-grown) ancient Mâisunidêśa,

¹ Tj. reads ஸ்ரீவிசையமும் and one of the Tiru-
pvalam inscriptions reads சீரவிசையமும்.

² Tj. reads வனமலை

³ Read இலங்காசொகழும் as in Tj

⁴ Tj. reads விளைபபைநதூ.

⁵ Tj. reads வளைபபைநதூ

⁶ Tj. has தீத.

⁷ மாதமலிங்கமும் occurs as மாதமாலிங்கமும்
in Tj.

⁸ For தெனக்கலா, Tj. has தெனக்கவார.

⁹ கடலக்காவல is the reading in Tj.

¹⁰ Read மிகுதிக்குறைவு.

a large heap of family-treasures, together with many (*other*) treasures (*which he carried away*) after having captured Indraratha of the old race of the moon, together with (*his*) family, in a fight which took place in the beautiful city of Âdinaḡar, filled with unceasing abundance, Odda-vishaya, which was difficult to approach, (*and which he subdued in*) close fight, the good Kôśala-nâdu, where Brâhmanas abounded; Dandabutti, in whose gardens beetles abounded (*and which he acquired*) after having destroyed Dharmapâla (*in*) a hot battle, Takkana-Lâdam, whose fame reached (*all*) directions (*and which he occupied*) after having forcibly attacked Ranaśûra, Vangâlâ-dêśa, where the rain-wind never stopped (*and from which*) Gôvindachandra fled, having descended (*from his*) male elephant, elephants of rare strength and treasures of women, (*which he seized*), after having been pleased to put to flight on a hot battle-field, Mahîpâla, decked (*as he was*) with ear-rings, slippers and bracelets, Uttira-Lâdam in the neighbourhood of the expansive ocean abounding in pearls; and the Gaṅgâ, whose waters dashed against the banks filled with fragrant flowers, and (*who*), having despatched many ships in the midst of the rolling sea and having caught Samgrâma-vijayôttungavarman, the king of Kadâram, along with (*his*) rutting elephants, which put up rare fight and brought victory,—(*took*) the large heap of treasures, which (*that king*) had rightfully accumulated, the (*arch called*) Vidyâdhara-tôrana put up at the “gate” of his wide inland city provided with accoutrements of war, the “jewel-gate”, adorned with great splendour, the “gate of large jewels” the prosperous Śrî-Vishaya, Pannai with a ghat of (*bathing*) water, the ancient Malayûr (*with*) a fort situated on a fine hill, Mâyirudingam, surrounded by the deep sea (*as*) a moat, Ilangâśôgam (*i.e.*, Lankâśôka) undaunted (*in*) fierce battles, Mâppappâlam, having abundant high waters as defence, Mēvilimbangam, having fine walls as defence, Valaippandûru, possessing (*both*) cultivated land (?) and jungle, the principal (*city of*) Takkoḷam, praised by great men (*versed in*) the sciences, the island of Mâdamalingam, of strong battlements. Ilâmuri-dêśam, provided with scientifically ripe excessive strength, the great Nakkaṡârâṡam, whose gardens (*abounded in*) flowers dribbling honey, and Kadâram, of fierce strength, protected by foot-soldiers wearing *kaḷal*, the *dēvadâna* lands (*belonging to the temple*) of the Mahâdēva at Vengûrkkala-Tirukkalar in Purangaramba-nâdu (*a sub-division*) of Arumolidēva-valanâdu, measured $\frac{1}{2}$ (*velh*) $19\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{160}$ and . . . This land was inclusive of excess and deficiency (in measurement) of the surrounding parts

NO. 208 —TIRUKKALAR PLATE OF RAJADHIRAJA I

This inscription in six lines is engraved on the second plate of the Tirukkalar set. It is dated in the 31st year of the reign of the Chôla king Râjakêsarivarman Râjâdhirâja I and registers an arrangement made, by a certain Tirumanappichchan, who bore the double surname Araiyan Nâgaraiyan and Mahîpâlakûlakâlappêraraiyan, whereby one brahmin had to perform worship in the temple at Tirukkalar in addition to another who was doing that service till then. From the short historical introduction which states that the king with the help of his army took the head of Vîra-Pândya, Śâlai of the Chêra king and Ilangai, it is clear that “Śâlai is an important place in the Chêra dominions and not a feeding house” as the late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao had taken to be.²

¹ Here is a figure resembling ௨.

² See p. 65 of the *Annual Report on Archaeology* of the Travancore State for 1920-21.

TEXT¹.

- 1 வீரபாண்டிய[ய⁺]ன தலையும செரல[ன^{*}] சாலையு[ம^{*}] இலங்கையும் தண்டாற கொண்ட
கொ இராஜ[கெ]-
- 2 சரிபதரார உடையார ஸ்ரீராஜாயிராஜ டெவ[ர^{*}]கரு யாண்டு நயிக ஆவது அரெய[ன]
நாகரெயனா
- 3 மஹிபாலகுலகாலபபெரெய[னா]ந திருமண(ப)பபிசசன உடையார்கு முனபு திருவ-
[ர^{*}]ராதனை செ-
- 4 பும பிராமணா ஒருவனும திருமண(ட)பபிசசன செத னிவகுகொண்டு செய்யும பிராம-
5 ணன ஒருவனுமாக இருவார்கு ள க-கு தூணிக்குறுணி ஆக ள நாசயிசு உாடுயளள-
குவிட்டநி கவ இது
- 6 அழிபப[ர⁺]ந திருவாணை || ▽

TRANSLATION.

In the 31st year of (*the reign of*) king Rājākēśarivarman *alias* Udayār Śrī-Rājādhirājadēva, who, with his army, had taken the head of Vīra-Pāndya, Śālaṇ of the Chēra king and Ilangai (*i.e.*, Ceylon), Araiyan Nāgaraiyan *alias* Mahīpālakulakālappēraraiyan *alias* Tirumanappichchan gave 1½ (*vēli of*) land for (*yielding an income of*) 150 (*kalam of paddy*) for the expenses of two brahmms, *viz.*, one brahmin, performing the worship of the god from of old and one brahmin who is to perform (*the same*) receiving the income provided for by Tirumanappichchan at the rate of (one) *tuni* and (one) *kurun*² of paddy per day for 360 days. Those who destroy this (*shall incur the sin of acting against*) the sacred (*or royal*) order.

No 209 —TIRUKKALAR PLATE OF KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA.

This inscription in 19 lines is engraved on the third plate of the Tirukkalar set. It is dated in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Tribhuvana-chakravartin Kulōttunga-Chōladēva without any distinguishing epithet or historical introduction. In the absence of these, though it is not generally possible to say to which of the three kings who bore that name this record must be attributed, yet it appears to be a record of Kulōttunga-Chōla I, since it is stated in the fourth inscription in this set in referring to this record that the king abolished tolls—which is generally a feat attributed to Kulōttunga I. It registers a gift of paddy made by a certain Śivan Tillaināyakan *alias* Śruttondanambi of Tannīrkunram in Nenmalī-nādu to the temple of Mahādēva at Tirukkalar in Purangarambāi-nādu which was a sub-division of Rājēndraśōla-valanādu for the purpose of taking in procession Aravābharanadēva, for offerings to Pillaiyār and the god in the Mūlattānam and for feeding devotees on the days of the new-moon.

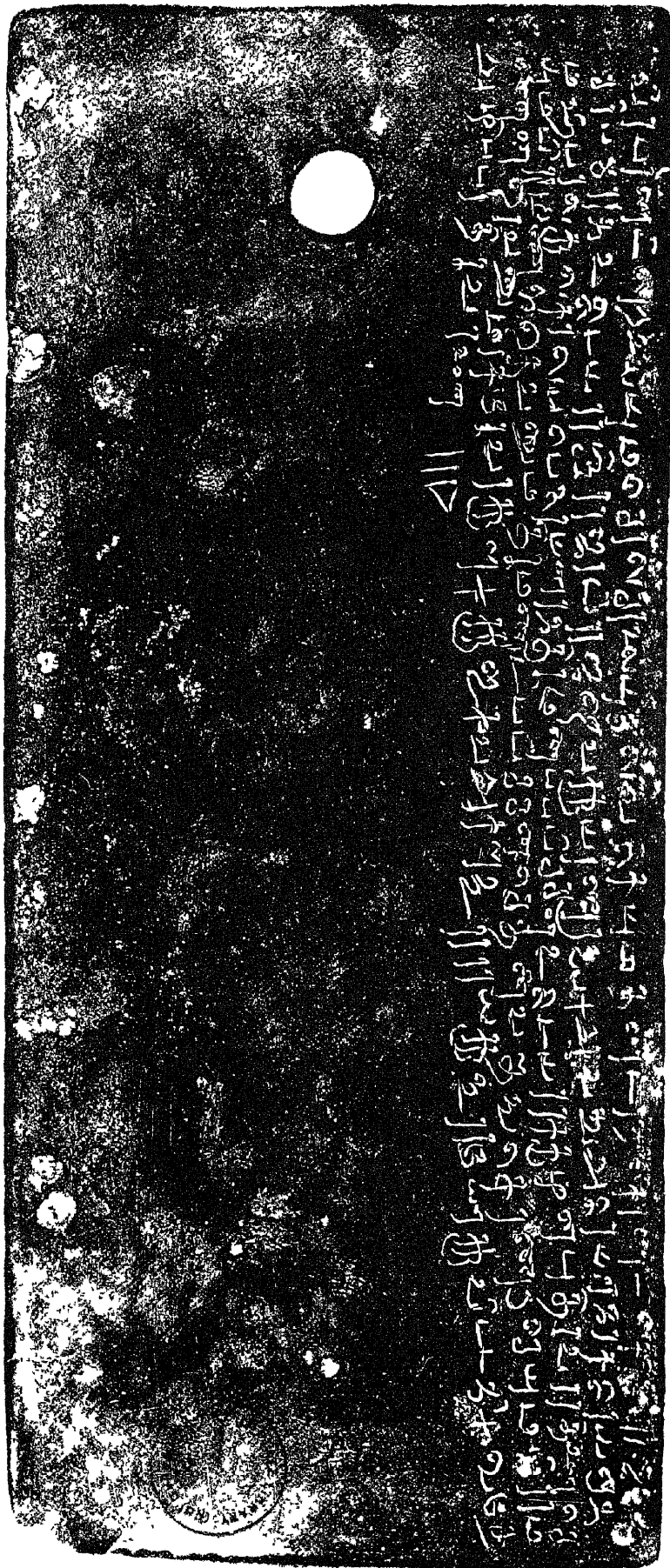
Tannīrkunram, to which the donor belonged, is a village 7 miles to the east of Mannārgudi in the Tanjore District. The modern village of Nemmelī in the same Taluk, must have been the principal place in the division Nenmalī-nādu in which Tannīrkunram is said to have been situated.

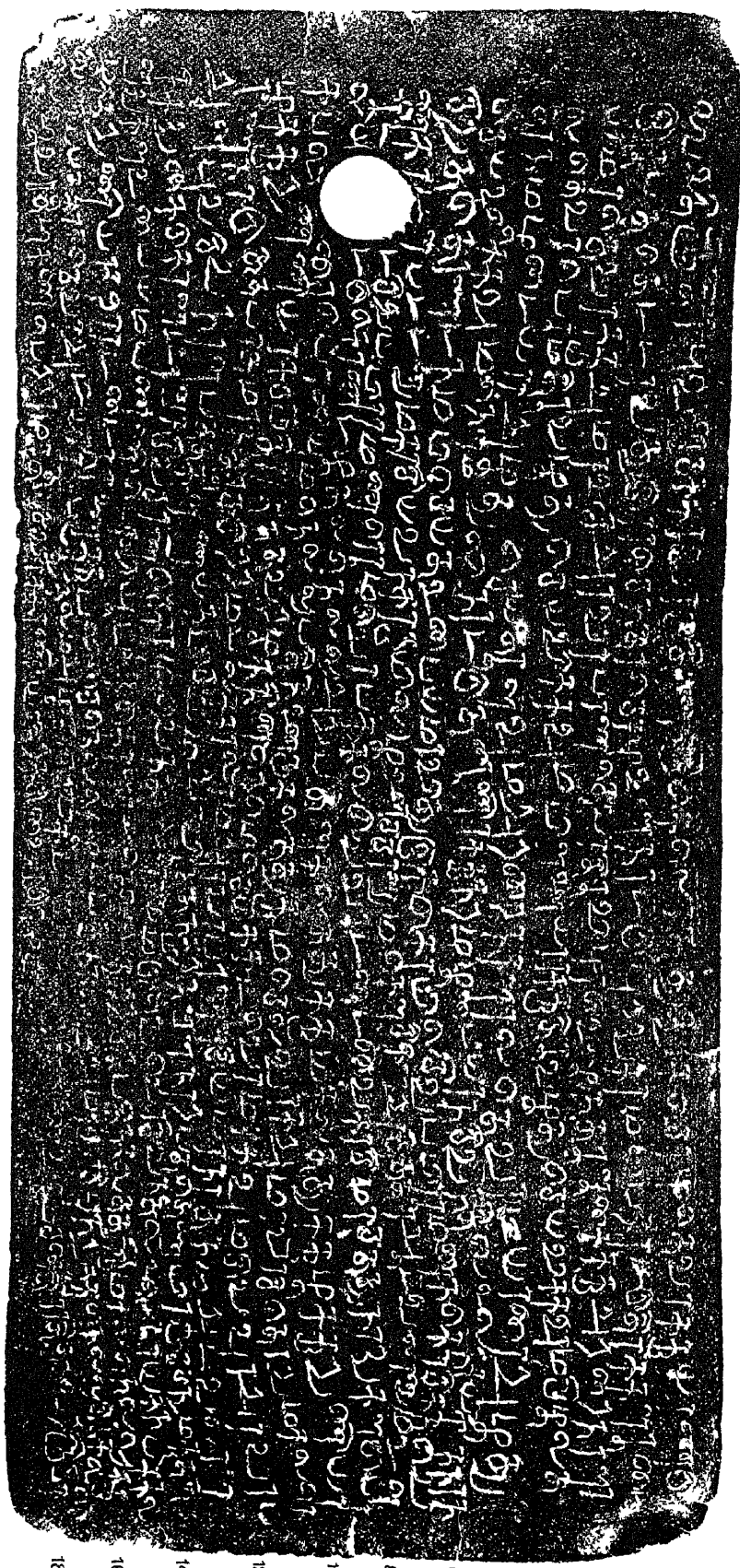
TEXT.

- 1 ஸ்வஸி ஸ்ரீ [||⁺] திரிபுவனசககரவாததிகள ஸ்ரீ கெ[ர^{*}]லொததுங்கசொழதெவார்கு யாண்டு
- 2 இருபத்தெட்டாவது இராசெநதிரசொழவளநாட்டு புறங்கரமபைநாட்டு திருக்களரு-
டை-
- 3 யமாதெவார்கு அமாவ[ர^{*}]சி அரவாபரணதெவா திருவிழா வெழுநதருளுகைக்கு அற-
றை நாளா-

¹ This inscription is written on one side of this plate and the other side is left blank.

² These are expressed by symbols.





18 16 14 12 10 8 6 4 2

4 வ தெவர் பெருமதிருவமுது செயவிககவும பிள்ளையராக்கு திருவமுது செயவிககவும : னீ-
மலக

Âdavallân *alias* Pûrvasîvan *alias* Pattargauâyaka-Pichchan, Aravindan Kuran *alias* Nârpattennâyîra-Pichchan, Kûttan Gangai-kondân *alias* Śivaśaranaśêgara-Mûvêndavêlân of this village, who came forward (*for this purpose*) shall conduct the (*specified*) expenses on each new-moon day, at the rate of (*one*) *kalam* and three *kurun* as long as the Moon and the Sun (*endure*)

For the (*one*) hundred and twenty *kalam* of paddy which we had received on interest by agreement from Śivan Tillainâyagan of this village, the interest in paddy for a period of one year calculated at the rate of three *kurun* per *kalam*, is thirty *kalam*.

With these thirty *kalam*, through those who stand for us we shall feed the devotees at the rate of two *kalam*, (*one*) *tinu* and (*one*) *padakku* of paddy for one new-moon day

As long as the sun and the moon (*endure*), the Śrî-Mâhêśvaras shall be surety (for this). Kanperrân shall be in charge of the Mâhêśvara-kâni. This is my writing

No 210.—TIRUKKALAR PLATE OF TRIBHUVANACHAKRAVARTIN RAJARAJADEVA

This is the fourth inscription in the Tirukkalar set. It is engraved on the second side of the third plate and belongs to the 18th year of the reign of Tribhuvana-chakravartin Râjarâjadêva. It records that some of the families of the donees, who received the gift made by Śivan Tillainâyagan of Tannîrkunram in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Kulôttunga-Chôla, the abolisher of tolls, ceased to have male members and that in consequence a question arising as to how the feeding pertaining to these families should be conducted in future, the Mâhêśvaras settled that the feeding stipulated in the grant to be done by the donees devolved on the female descendants as well and that arrangements were made in accordance with that order. The inscription may probably belong to the reign of Râjarâja II, though the distinguishing epithet of the king is missing and the characters appear to belong to a later period.

TEXT.

- 1 ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ[+]திரிபுல[னசககரவததி]கன ஸ்ரீ இராஜராஜதேவ[கு] யாண்டு பதிரெ-
ட்டாவது நாள்
- 2 நூற்றெண்பதிரா[ல இர]ாசேநதிரசொழவளநாட்டுப் புறங்கரமபைநாட்டுத் திரு-
- 3 ககளா முனீதத மாதேவற்கு அமாவாசி எழுந்தருளி தேவரடியாரை அமுது செயவி-
- 4 ககச சுங்கநதவுத்தருளின கொலொத்துங்கசொழதேவற்கு இருபத்தெட்டா[வ]-
- 5 து தண்ணிறகுன்றமுடையான் சிவந்திலைநாயகந பககல இததேவா திருமடை-
- 6 [வின]ாகத்திருக்கும் ஆண்டாரகன உபையமாக கொண்ட நெலனுக்கு அமுது செய்[வி]-
- 7 க்குமபடிக்கு முன்பு வெட்டின செப்பெட்டுபடியில் உபையங்கொண்டு அமு-
- 8 துசெயவித்துவருகிற ஆண்டாரகளில் ஆணவழி அறறுப பெணவழியா-
- 9 ன கொத்துக்கு அமுது செய்விக்குமபடி கனகராயரும் ஸ்ரீமாகெசுவர-
- 10 ரும் அறுதி பண்ணுகிற இடத்துப் பொலிஊட்டுப் பெணவழியும் வருமெ-
- 11 னறு ஸ்ரீமாகெசுவரா நிச்சயித்தமையில் இப்படி சமமதித்துப் பெணவழியி-
- 12 லா இட்ட திட்டெப்படி ஆடவலான பூவசிவனாந பத்தகநாயகப் பிச்சந மக-
- 13 னை கொண்ட கணபெற்றான மநறு நிறைநதநான அனபறகடி-
- 14 யாக அமுது செயவிக்கும் பொ முநறு இவன கொழுந்தி மகந தேவன
- 15 [திவாகா?]ன உள்ளிட்டார அமுது செயவிக்கும் பொ முநறும் ஆணவழி திருசகி-
- 16 மமபலககாலான அமுது செயவிக்கும் ஐஞ்சு கூறிட டிரண்டு கூற்றல பொ ப-
- 17 னநிரண்டு அமுது செயவிக்க[+] [++]

TRANSLATION

Hail ' Prosperity ' In the eighteenth year and one hundred and eightieth day of (*the reign of*) the emperor of the three worlds the glorious Râjarâjadêva, when male descendants ceased to exist in some of the families of the *ândâr* who had been living in the *tirumadai-vîḷḷagam* of the god and who had obtained a paddy-gift for conducting the feeding specified

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 97. கனகசபை
 98. கனகசபை
 99. கனகசபை
 100. கனகசபை

in a copper-plate grant engraved formerly (*i.e.*), in the twenty-eighth year of (*the reign of*) Kulôttunga-Chôladêva, the abolisher of tolls, from Śivan Tillaînâyagan of Tannîrkunram, who made provision for the new-moon festival and for feeding the devotees (*dēvaradiyār*) of the god Mahâdêva who had sprung at Tirukkalar in Purangarambainâdu, (*a sub-division*) of Râjêndrasôla-valanâdu and who (*i.e.*, the *ândâr*) had been conducting the feeding with the gifts and when Kanakârâyar and the Mâhêśvaras wished to decide how the feeding pertaining to the families having only female descendants should be conducted, the Mâhêśvaras came to the settlement that the feeding from the interest (*of a gift*) devolved also on the female descendants. It was so agreed and that in accordance with the agreement made by the female descendants, (*it was decided that*) three persons had to be fed by Kanperân Tanruniraindân *alias* Anbarkadiyân who had taken (*to wife*) the daughter of Âdavallân Pûrvasîvan *alias* Pattarganâyaga-Pichchan, that three persons had to be fed by Dêvan Divâkaran, the son of her *kolundi* (husband's mother's sister) and others and that twelve persons pertaining to two shares out of the (*same*), *viz.*—which (*number*) was fed by Tiruchchirrambalakkâlân,—shall now be fed by the male descendants (*of his*).

No 211—TIRUKKALAR PLATE OF KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA III

This is the fifth inscription in the Tirukkalar set. It is engraved on both sides of the fourth plate and the inner side of the fifth. It is dated in the 29th year of the reign of Kulôttunga-Chôladêva (*i.e.*, Kulôttunga III) who took Madura, Ceylon, Karuvâr and the crowned head of the Pândya king and furnishes a list of gold and silver ornaments belonging to the temple at Tirukkalar with their weights as measured by the standard weight called the *kudîrai-kal* and the fineness in each case

First Side

- 1 ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [||*] திரிபுவனசக்கரவத்திகள மதுரையும் சூழமுங் கருவூரும் பாண்டியன மு-
டித்தலையுங் கொண்டருளி-
- 2 ய ஸ்ரீகுலோத்தங்க சொழ்தெவறகு யாண்டு உயசு-வது திருக்களா முளைத்த நாயனா
கொ-
- 3 யில திருவாரணததுக்கு முதல குடினைக்கலவிடை திருக்கொள்கை க-ம இதனெ-
- 4 மல பறமமும் உடபட அஇவறு மாறிப்பொன நூற்றொரு கழஞ்சரை இதன விளிமபி-
- 5 ற திரைத்த வெள்ளி பதினாறுகழஞ்செ முக்கால ||— திருவொதா¹ரமாவை பொறபு ப-
- 6 திருநீரால் அஇ மாறி பொன பன்னிரு கழஞ்சு ||— திருவத்தரியம் க-னூல அஇ மாறி
- 7 பொன இருகழஞ்செ நாலு மஞ்சாடியும் ஆறுமா ||— திருப்பிறை க-னூல அ மு-
- 8 ககால மாறி பொன முக்கால ||— கன்னபுஜை² [||*] க-னூல அஇ மாறி பொன இருகழஞ-
- 9 செ கால ||— திருப்பட்டிகைப்பலகை க-னூல அவ மாறி பொன அறுபத்து
- 10 நாறகழஞ்சரை இதன விளிமபித்திரைத்த வெள்ளி பத்தொன்பதின் கழஞ்சரை-
- 11 ய நாலு மஞ்சாடியும் ஆறுமா இதனுள் பலவிடத்துந் தைத்த செப்பாணி இடை
- 12 ஆறரை பலம் ||— அன்னியுடையா ரிட்ட பொறபு க-னூல பொன கழஞ்சு இது கொத்த
- 13 வெள்ளிக்காரை க-னூல வெள்ளி அரைக கழஞ்சு ||— உய-வது மாளிகை முலபண்டார-
- 14 ததினினும் வந்த திருப்பட்டம் க-னூல பொன எழுகழஞ்செ கால ||—

Second Side.

- 15 திருப்பள்ளியறை நாச்சியா¹[||*]குச சாததுகிற சிறுதாவி க-ம மணி க-னூலும் பொன
இர-
- 16 ண்டு மஞ்சாடியு² நாலுமா இது மாறறு அஇ இது கொத்த காரை க-னூல வெள்ளி கால
- 17 திருமங்கலநாண க-ம தாவி க-ம கொக்குவாய படுகண உடபட கூ மாறி பொன
இருகழ-

¹ Read 'வுதர.

² The syllables டியு are engraved below the line.

திருவையாறுடையா ரிட்ட திருவடிகெட்
||— திருநெற்றித்திறனை க-னா ஸ்ரீ ம
நாண க தானி கடைத்தொழிலுட்பட அ
வ மணி சயக-னா ஸ்ரீ மாறி பொன கழல்

செ முககாலெ மஞ்சாடி ||— வெள்ளிம
மஞ்சாடியு முன ஸ்ரீ மா ||— வெள்ளிககா
மஞ்சாடி இதில கொத்த தானி க-னா

ஸ்ரீ மாறி பொன கழஞ்சரை || திருந
றவ ஸ்ரீ மாறி பொன இருகழஞ்ச || திருந
ற || உடையாறகு திருமஞ்சனத்து⁴க்கு

இட்ட திருவுத்தரியம க-னா பொன மு
காசமி || திருவாசிகைப்பரிமத்தில⁵ பாப

2
 4
 6
 8
 10
 12
 14

in a

16
 18
 20
 22
 24
 26
 28

n b

30
 32
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 40
 42

By 3 ear-flowers (*kannapushpam*), two *kalañju* and a quarter of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness

By 1 sacred girdle-plate (*truppattigai-palagai*), sixty-four *kalañju* and a half of gold of $8\frac{1}{4}$ fineness Silver, covering the edges of this, nineteen *kalañju* and a half, four *mañjādi* and six *mā* The weight of copper nails fixed in the several parts of this (*ornament*) is six and half *palam*.

By 1 gold flower given by Annaiyudaiyâr, one *kalañju* of gold By one silver necklace in which this was strung, half a *kalañju* of silver.

By 1 sacred diadem (*tiruppattum*) received in the 20th (year) from the central treasury of the palace (*māhgar*), seven *kalañju* and a quarter of gold

By 1 small marriage-badge (*tāl*) to be worn by the goddess of the bed-chamber and one *man* (gem), two *mañjādi* and four *mā* of gold This is of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness By 1 necklace on which this was strung, quarter (*kalañju*) of silver Inclusive of 1 string of the marriage-badge, 1 marriage-badge, together with the *kokkuvāy* and *padugan*, two *kalañju* of gold of 9 fineness.

By 1 garland (*truvāsigar*) made by Irāsāndān alias Śôlavichchâdîra Pallavaraiyar of Pôḍimaṅgalam in the 23rd (year of reign), for being put on (the image of) Aravābharaṇadêva, two hundred and fifty-five *kalañju* and a quarter, three *mañjādi* and five *mā* of gold of $8\frac{5}{8}$ fineness.

By 1 *abhishêka*, sixteen *kalañju* and a half of gold of $9\frac{1}{2}$ fineness

By 1 sacred garland (*truvāram*) of this god, four *kalanju* and three-fourths, two *mañjādi* and seven *mā* of gold of $9\frac{1}{4}$ fineness.

By 2 sacred ear-rings (*tirutôdu*) of this (god), three *kalañju* of gold of $8\frac{1}{4}$ fineness

By 1 *abhishêka* of the consort of this (god), ten *kalañju* of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness

By 1 sacred garland (*tiruvāram*) of this (god) two *kalañju* and a quarter of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness

By 2 ear-rings (*tôdu*) of this (god), two *kalañju* of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness

By 24 sacred round beads (*truvattaman*), (one) *kalañju* and a half of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness By 1 string of sacred round beads (*truvattamani*) and 30 beads, (one) *kalañju*, two *mañjādi* and four *mā* of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness

By 1 string of sacred round beads and 40 beads, [1 *kalañju*, 8 *mañjādi* and 2 *mā*]¹ of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness

By 1 string of sacred round beads and 40 beads, two *kalañju* of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness.

By 1 pair of sacred anklet (*truschehlambu*), four *kalañju* of gold of $8\frac{3}{4}$ fineness

By 1 *tru-abhishêkam* presented by Tiruvaiyârudaiyân for being worn by the Nâchchîyâr (i.e., the goddess Pârvatî) who performed full penance, fifteen *kalañju* and a half of gold of 9 fineness.

By 1 *tiranai* for the forehead, five *kalañju* and quarter of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness

By 1 string of marriage-badge inclusive of the end-workings of the marriage-badge, (one) *kalañju* of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness

By 1 sacred foot-string (*truttāvadam*), and 41 beads, (one) *kalañju* of gold of 9 fineness.

By 4 sacred wristlets, two *kalañju* and three fourths and (one) *mañjādi* of gold of 9 fineness.

¹ Expressed by symbols see page 474, note 1.

By 35 silver beads, three-fourths of a (*kalañju*), two *mañjādi* and three *mā* of silver
 By 1 silver bracelet (*kārai*), three fourths (*kalañju*) and two (*mañjādi*) of silver
 By 1 marriage-badge strung on this, half a *kalañju* of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness.
 By 2 sacred ear-rings (*tiruttōdu*), (one) *kalañju* and a half of gold of $8\frac{3}{4}$ fineness
 By 1 sacred garland . . . gold.¹
 By 1 head circlet (*śrāchakram*), two *kalañju* of gold of 9 fineness
 By 2 sacred necklaces (*tirukkanda-vāh*), three-fourths (of a *kalañju*) of gold of 9 fineness.
 By 1 sacred upper cloth presented by Udayâr Śôlavichchâdîra-Pallavaraiyar to be worn by the god during the sacred bath, three-fourths (of a *kalañju*), four *mañjādi* and six *mā* of gold.²

By 1 snake in the *tiruvâsigaippuram*, (one) *kalañju* and three-fourths and two *mā* of gold

TWO CHOLA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM TIRUCHCHENGODU

No 212 —TIRUCHCHENGODU PLATE OF RAJAKESARIVARMAN³

This short inscription in seven lines is engraved on the first side of the first plate of the set of copper-plates obtained from M R By Muthuswamy Konar of Tiruchchengôdu. It is dated in the 10th year of the reign of king Râjakêsarivarman and registers evidently an order of one of the feudatory chiefs of the sovereign named Malavaraiyan Sundarâśôlan, stating that the taxes on full house-sites and half house-sites shall be recovered at $\frac{1}{4}$ th and $\frac{1}{8}$ th (*kâśu*?) respectively from the citizens of Tûśiyûr and that fines and faults, if any, shall be realised at the rate prevailing in Nandipuram. The chief Malavaraiyan Sundarâśôlan gets the surnames Piradigandan and Kollî-Malavan in B and Orriyûran Piradigandavarman in No 213. Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri has identified the king Râjakêsarivarman of this and the following record with Râjarâja I and notes as follows regarding the donor's father who, in B is stated to have died at Îlam (ie, Ceylon)⁴.—"He was evidently a military officer of Râjarâja I or of one of his predecessors. An inscription from Tiruvenkâdu of the time of Râjarâja I refers to the general Śiriyavêlân of Kodumbâlûr who fell in a battle-field in Îlam in the ninth year of Ponmâligai-tuñjina-dêva (ie, Sundara-Chôla Parântaka II). It is not impossible that the father of Malavaraiyan was also connected with the battle in which Śiriyavêlâr fell."

It is not possible to identify Tûśiyûr mentioned in this inscription

TEXT.⁵

A.

- 1 ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [||*] கொவிராஜகெசரிபனமறக்கு யா-
- 2 னெடு ஆவது மழவரையன சுந்தரசொழனெ-
- 3 ன⁷ தூசிபூர நகரத்தாரை நாக கொள்ளும் மிறை முழும-
- 4 னை காலும் அரைமனை அரைக்காலும் நின்ற இறைஆ-

¹ Details regarding this item are omitted to be given in the original

² After this occurs the phrase *மாறது காசுமி* whose significance cannot be made out.

³ This is registered as No. 10 of App A to the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1913-14.

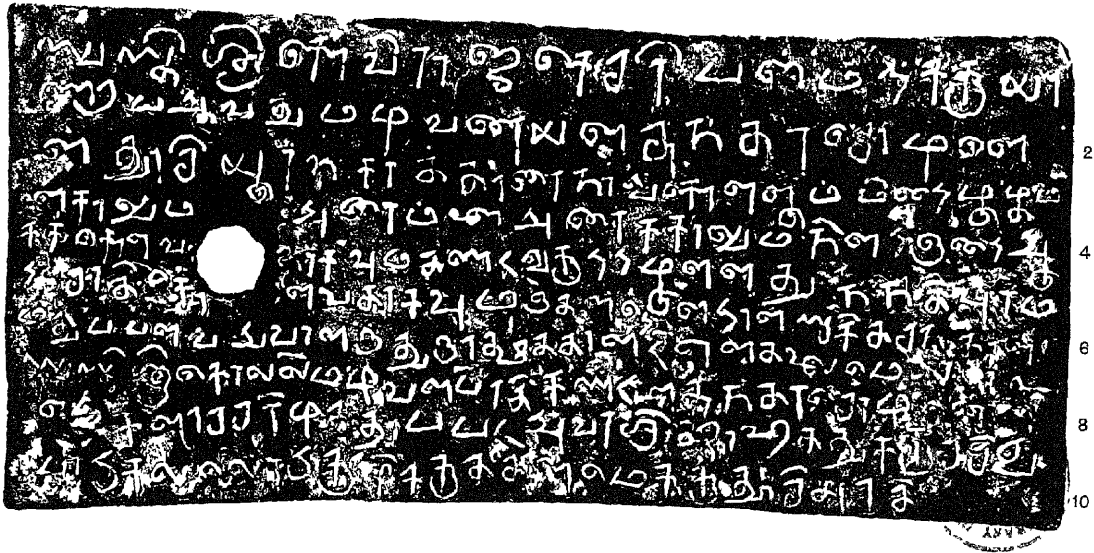
⁴ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1913-14, Part II, paragraph 15

⁵ From impressions (received from) the office of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras.

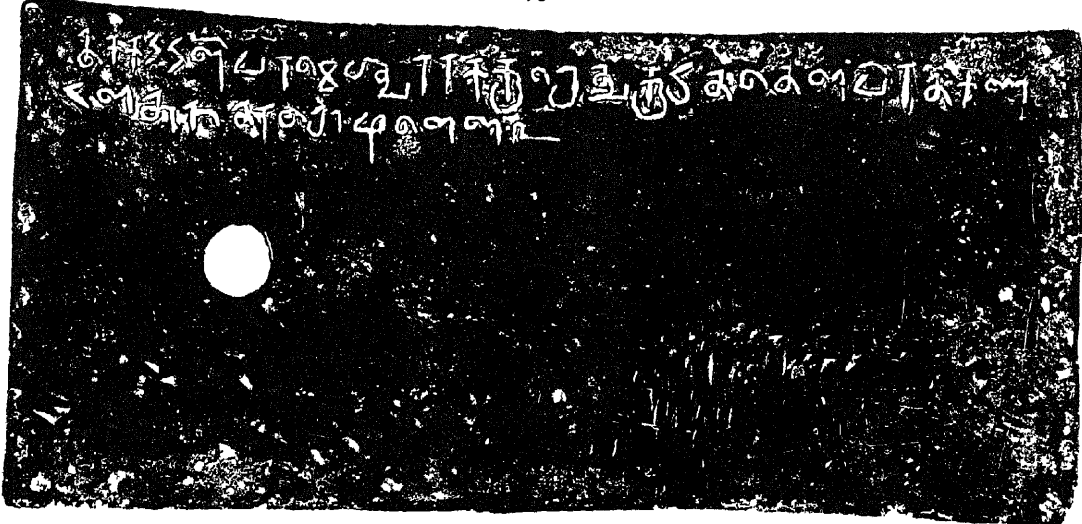
⁶ *Pull* is marked in some places and left out in others.

⁷ Here the word *ஒலை* seems to have been omitted.

20



26



- 5 கக கொளவதாகவும தண்டங்குறற முள்ளது நந்திபுர ம-
 6 மசாகி¹ கொளவதாகவும இதன மெனமுன ஸங்கிதசந்தான-
 7 ம துப்பன வறுவான இது இர[க்ஷி]த்தானடி என தலை மெலது.

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the 10th year of (*the reign of*) king Râjakêsarivarman, I, Malavaraiyan Sundarâśôlan (*ordered as follows*).—

The tax which we used to receive from the citizens of Tûśiyûr (*viz.*) one-fourth (*kâsu*) on (*each*) full house-site, and one-eighth on (*each*) half house-site shall be realised as permanent tax; any fine or fault shall be realised according to (*the rate prevalent at*) Nandipuram. The merit and progeny of him who contradicts this shall be entirely² cut off. The feet of him who protects this shall (*rest*) on my head.

TEXT.

B³

- 1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [||+] கொலவிமழவன பிரதிகண்டன் சுந்தரசொழனென
 2 எங்களாச்ச ரிழததுப பட அவர் ஸ்ரீலீலாஹததுக்குச சிறு-
 3 பாடு கலவொடு குழிககுத தெனமெ[ற*]க்கு தூசியு⁴ தி-

Second Side.

- 4 நுககறறளி பரஸேஸூராகு செதுகுடுததென பிரதிகண்-
 5 டன சுந்தரசொழனென ||—

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! My father having been killed in Îlam (Ceylon), I, Kollimalavan Piradigandan Sundarâśôlan,⁵ made a *śirupâdu*⁶ to the south-west of the boulder with a hole and gave it to the lord of the sacred stone temple at Tûśiyûr for (*appeasing*) his thirst.

No. 213.—TIRUCHCHENGODU PLATE OF RAJAKESARIVARMAN⁷

This inscription, engraved on three plates—the last bearing writing only on the inner side—is dated in the 5th year of the reign of the Chôla king Râjakêsarivarman (identified with Râjarâja I) and registers gifts of lands made by the chief Kollimalavan Orriyûran Piradigandavarman, to the temple of Paramêśvara of the sacred Mûlasthâna at Tûśiyûr. Boundaries of the lands granted are furnished in detail and therein figure Kannâdu, the dams called Pûnârru-anai and Kallôdu-anai, the tanks Śûlai-kulam also known as Kândalêri, Tâmaraiikkulam and Karrali-êri also named Pudukkulam, the temple of Tântônripirân, Mûkkurukkâ, Kattinâgankûval-ittêr and Kanavadinallûr, otherwise called A man kud i.

¹ Cf *maryâda* in Sanskrit

² With துப்பன cf துப்புர or துப்புரவாய.

³ This inscription is engraved below A and continued on the other side of the plate.

⁴ Read தூசியூர

⁵ This name is repeated twice in the inscription

⁶ The word *śirupâdu* seems to be connected with *śirupâdu* 'small savings effected by females and youngsters'. In the text, it may refer to some land or property, which the donor might have obtained out of the savings effected by him in his youth

⁷ This inscription is registered as No. 11 of Appendix A to the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1914.

Kannādu (*kal-nādu*) which occurs more than once in this inscription refers evidently to hero-stones which are stated in ancient Tamil literature, as having been put up with great ceremony in honour of persons who had done valorous deeds in guarding their country and given up their lives in that cause. Being associated with the word பெருவரம்பு it may even be an engraver's mistake for *kannārru*.

Traces of writing found in lines 13, 28, 29, 30 and 33 indicate that the present inscription is a palimpsest.

It is not possible to identify the places mentioned in this inscription.

TEXT ¹

First Plate, First Side

- 1 ஸ்ரீஸ்ரீ [||+]
- 2 கொவிராஜகெஸுரிவந்திராகு² திருவெழுத்தி-
- 3 (ருவெழுத்தி)டஞ செல்லாநின்ற யாண்டு அஞ்சாவது இவ்வ[ர+]ண்டு கொல-
- 4 விமழவன ஓற்றியூரன பிரதிகண்டவ[ர+]னென எனாடுத தூசியூ-
- 5 த தென்புலத் தூநிலம் கிழக்கெலலை பிடாரியா[ர+] நிலத்துக்கும்
- 6 அமைச்சிக்கும் பூநாற்றி அணைக்கு[ம+] மெக்கும் தெற்கெலலை திருப்பா-
- 7 மைக்குக் கிழக்குக் கனாடுக்குப் பெருவரம்புக்கும் வடக்கும் திரு-
- 8 பப்[ர+]மைக்கு மெக்கு கனாடுக்குப் பெருவரம்புக்கும் வடக்கும் மெ-
- 9 க்கெலலை சூனாகுளமான காந்தனெரிக்குத் தானென நிபிரான கொ-

First Plate, Second Side

- 10 யிலுந் தூசியூரத் தெனவாய வாயிலினின்று தெற்கு நொக்கிப்
- 11 (ப) பொன பெருவழிக்கும் கிழக்கும் வடக்கெலலை தூசியூரப்³ பழவூ-
- 12 க்குத் தெற்குத் தாமரைக்குளமும் இக்குளத்தால நிரகொவை
- 13 யும் இதெபிவீரன⁴ ல-லியும் கற்றனியெரியான புதுக்குள-
- 14 மும் இக்குளத்து நிரகொவையும் இக்குளக்கிழை-
- 15 வையாவது கிழக்கெலலை கனாடுக்கு மெக்குந்
- 16 தெற்கெலலை கடநிராகனகுவ விடெடாகு⁵ வடக்கு மெக்[கெ*]-
- 17 வலை மூக்குறுகாவிதக்கு கிழக்கும் வடக்கெலலை எரிக்கு-
- 18 ந தெற்குத் கணவநிலவூரான அமணகுடியும் அவலூ-
- 19 ர நன்புலமும் செப்பலமும் இவ்விரைத்த பெருநான-

Second Plate, First Side

- 20 (டு)கெலையி னிலம் மெனெக்கின மரமும் கிழ-
- 21 நொக்கின கிணறும் புறநு முடக்குறையும் உடுமபொடி யா-
- 22 மை தவழநத்து எப்பொப்பட்ட நிலமும் தூசியூ-
- 23 த திருக்கற்றனி திருமூலநானமுடைய பரஜேஸ்வராக-
- 24 கு உடிமவ-லு⁶ஞ செயது எலையுங் கல-
- 25 லுந் தெரித்துக் குடுதென கொலமிழவ-
- 26 ன ஓற்றியூரன பிரதிகண்டவ[ர+]னென[+] கணவ-
- 27 திருவலூ(ர)ரான அமணகுடி தூசியூர திருமூலட்டானம்-
- 28 உடைய வரஜேஸ்வராகு உடிமவ-லு⁶கம்⁷ செயதுகு-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 29 தெனென ஓற்றியூரன பிரதிகண்டபன-
- 30 மனென தூசியூர திருமூலட்டான(ர)முடைய ப-
- 31 ரமேஸ்வரந் தமக்கு பஞ்சமாஸஸ்டு கொட-

¹ From impression prepared in 1914

² The rest of this line and a part of the next are left blank

³ Read தூசியூ

⁴ This word is written over an erasure.

⁵ Read ட்டெரி.

⁶ Read செயது.

- 32 கிணற உவசசகளுக்கு கணவதிகலவா(ர)ரான
 33 அமணகுடி உடிகழுவதென செயதுகுததெ-
 34 ன திரு[க+]கற்றறிஉடைய பரமெஸ்வரா[ககு+] [I+] இந்னை இ-
 35 ரகதிப்பான ஸ்ரீபாடி மென தீலமெலன [I+] இதிற-
 36 ககிணன வழி யெழுச்சு மொழியாம வறுவான [I+]

Third Plate . First Side

- 37 கொலவிமழவன ஓற்றியூரன பிரதிகண்டவனமென தாசி-
 38 யூர தெவநிலம் பழநதெவதானம் [சு]னகுள(ம)ம[ர+]ன காநதென-
 39 ரிக குளத்தினகிழ திருப்பாறைக்கு தெற்கு பிரமதெய[ம+] [ெ]சயதமை-
 40 யில அநநிலத்துக்கு நிலம் கழாறு [I+] இதுக்கு எலலை சிறுகரைக்கு
 41 மெக்கு பள்ளிச்சநத[த+]துக்கு வடக்கும் அமச்சிக்கு கிழ-
 42 க்கும் கலவொடனைக்கு[ம+] குசவனகழனிகு[ம+] தெற்கு-
 43 [ம] [I+] இந்ந[ர]னகு எலலை நிலம் நிலத்துக்கு நிலம் குதெ-
 44 (த)தென [I+]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In this year, (viz), the fifth year, current by the king's order, of (the reign of) king Rājākēśarivarman, I, Kollimalavan Orriyūran Piradigandavarman¹ gave with libation of water, the following lands situated within the four great boundaries described, inclusive of the trees growing thereon, the wells sunk therein, the ant-hills, the *mudakkurai*, and containing all kinds of soil where inguanas run and the tortoises crawl,—after defining the boundaries and (boundary) stones, to the god (Paramēśvara) in the sacred Mūlasthāna of the sacred stone temple at Tūśiyūr:—

The fine land in the field to the south of Tūśiyūr in my division,—the eastern boundary of which is to the west of the land belonging to Pīdāriyār, of *Amarchehi* and of the dam called Pūnārru-anaṭi, the southern boundary is to the north of the big ridge and the hero-stone (*kannādu*) on the eastern side of the sacred boulder, and to the north of the hero-stone and big ridge on the western side of the (same) sacred boulder, the western boundary is to the east of the high road passing southwards from the southern entrance of Tūśiyūr and the tank called Śūlai-kulam *alias* Kāndalēri as well as the temple of Tāntōnripirāṇ, the northern boundary is to the south of the old village of Tūśiyūr,—together with the lotus tank (Tāmarai-kulam). the *nirkōvai* (i.e., land covered with water) of this tank, the land of [Itadupiviran],² and the tank known as Karraḷi-ēri *alias* Pudukkulam, together with the *nirkōvai* of this tank

The boundaries of the lands under this tank are as follow —The eastern boundary is to the west of the hero-stone; the southern boundary is to the north of the by-path called Kattināgankūvalittēr, the western boundary is to the east of Mūkkurugā; the northern boundary is to the south of the tank; they include Kanavadinallūr *alias* Aṁankudī together with the lands and the dry lands belonging to that village.

I, Orriyūran Piradigandavarman, gave with libation of water, Kanavadinallūr *alias* Aṁankudī to the god Paramēśvara of the sacred Mūlasthāna in Tūśiyūr. I gave with libation of water, Kanavadinallūr *alias* Aṁankudī, to the god Paramēśvara of the sacred Mūlasthāna of the stone temple³ at Tūśiyūr and to the drummers who sound the five great sounds to him The feet of him who protects this charity shall be on my head. He who acts against it, shall without faillose progeny in seven births

¹ This name is repeated twice in the inscription

² This is written over an erasure and the reading is tentative

³ The words *Thrukkarāḷi-udāya Paramēśvarar* have no connection with any other word in this sentence. Perhaps, கரு has been omitted to be engraved

As the lands situated to the south of the sacred boulder lying under the tank known as Śūlai-kulam also called Kāndalêri, an old *dēvadāna* land in Tūśiyûr, had been constituted as a *brahmadēya* and given away, I, Kollimalavan Orriyûran Piradigandavarman made Kalâru as a substitute for that land. The boundaries of this land are.—

To the west of Sirukarai; to the north of the *Palhchchandam*, to the east of *Amarchchi* and to the south of the dam called Kallôdanai and Kusavankalan. As an exchange of land, I gave the land lying within these four boundaries.

INDEX

Figures enclosed in brackets refer to the pages of the Introduction, without brackets, they refer to the page of the volume, "n" after a figure to foot-notes, and "add" to the *Addenda and Corrigenda*. The following other abbreviations are used — *Ch* = chief, *co* = country, *di* = district or division, *do* = ditto, *dy* = dynasty, *E* = Eastern, *f* = female, *k* = king, *m* = male, *mo* = mountain, *re* = river, *sa* = same as, *sur* = surname, *te* = temple, *vi* = village or town, *W* = Western

A

Abhaya, *sur* of Kulottunga I, 131
 Abhimānamēru, *sur* of Rājasimha III, 443, 459
 Abhimānamēru-Mūvēndavēlan, *sur.* of Kādan
 Karunākaran, 428, 429
 abhishēka or tiru-abhishēka, *ornament*, 475
 abhishēka-dakshinā, 377, 383
 abhishēka-mandapa, 86, 329
 āchārya-pūjanai, *honorarium of priests*, 273
 Āchchan Angādi, *m*, 428, 429, 438
 Āchcharapākkam, *vi*, 131, 172, 173, 178, 193
 Ācheherumān Vaynamēgan, *m*, 24
 Achchudan (Achyuta) Rājaiājan, *ch*, 38
 adai-ōlai, *deed of contract*, 381
 adaippadi, *a pledge*, 307
 Adambulānāl, *vi*, 253.
 Ādanū, *vi*, 308
 Ādavallān, *m*, 472, 473
 Ādavallān Śivavākyadēvan, *m*, 83.
 adēyam, 256.
 adiḥkāim, *a magistrate*, 117, 136, 138, 151, 173,
 272, 379, 438
 Ādhipura, Ādhipuri or Ādhigāma, *s.a.* Orriyū,
 132, 236, 237, 242, 243
 Ādhipuṣṣvara, *te*, 52, 132
 Adhūāja, *title*, 446
 Adhūājaiāja-mandalam, *sur* of Kongu, 31, 33,
 38, 39, 41, 42
 Adhūājaiāja-valanādu, *di*, 38
 Adhūājendra or Adhūājendradēva, *Chōla k.*, 59,
 113, 114, 115, 117, 129, 132, 136, 190, 191,
 192, 196, 197
 Ādicchamangalam, *vi*, 31, 48.
 Ādicchea-vāykkāl, *channel*, 279, 280.
 adigal, *a devotee*, 230
 Adigal Gandan Mārambāvai, *Pallava queen*, [8],
 226, 227
 Adigal Nakkam, *m*, 293, 308, 312
 Adigal Vīasōlan, *m*, 293
 Ādmangalam, *vi*, 118
 Ādmūlēsvara, *te*, 246, 248, 279, 299
 Ādmagar, *vi*, [19], [18], 469
 Ādnājēndia Tamiladaiayan, *sur* of Pichchan
 Ambalakkūttan, 118.
 Ādisēsha or Sēsha, *serpent*, 420, 461
 Āditta Elāynavan, *m*, 330 n.
 Adittan, *m*, 293
 Ādittan Karraipirātti, *Chōla queen*, [13]
 Ādittaperumān Sōmāsi (Sōmayājun), *m*, 111.
 Āditya I or Ādityavaiman, *Chōla k.*, [7], [8],
 [9], [10], [12], [13], 2n, 196, 221, 222, 223,
 224, 225, 226, 235, 238, 248, 289, 386, 387,
 418, 419, 449.

Āditya II or Ādityavaiman, *Chōla k.*, [8], [9],
 [12], [13], [14], [15], [16], 1, 21, 196, 249,
 262, 263, 278, 279, 289, 333, 356, 375, 377,
 379, 387, 420
 Ādityadēva, *god*, 364
 Ādityapīdāni, *sa* Pūdi Ādicchapidānyāi, 228
 Āditvēsvara, *sa* Kōdandaiāmēsvara, [9], 237,
 238
 Ādityēsvara-Mahādēva, *sa* Umāmahēsvara, 296.
 Ādityēsvaraimudaiya-Mahādēva, *god*, 276, 277.
 Adiyān, *k*, 446
 Adiyaiyamangalam, *vi*, 234
 Adiyārkkunallār, *commentator*, 379
 Ādūturai, *vi*, 294
 Agai, *channel*, 171
 agam, *earth or land*, [1]n
 āgama, *scriptures*, 87, 113
 Aganāmūru, *collection of poems*, [4]n
 Agastya, *sage*, [1], 388, 422, 442, 443, 444, 446,
 457, 460, 464
 Aggabōdhi, *Ceylon k.*, 449n
 agni-kāiya, *fire oblation*, 286
 agnishtai, *fire pan*, 21, 22
 Āgnivēsya, *author*, 458n
 Āgnivēsya - kalpa, *work*, 443, 444, 458n, 462
 agriahāra, *a Brahmin village*, 443, 458n, 459
 agriam, ēkāgram or uttamāgram, *a rich meal*, 233,
 255n, 256n, 295
 agriasālā, *a temple-kitchen*, 233n, 256n
 agriasālā-para, *measure*, 233n
 Āgudi-nādu, *di*, 117
 Āhavamalla, *sur.* of Sōmēsvara I, 32, 37, 40, 52,
 56, 58, 63, 64, 65, 68n, 69n, 111, 112, 191, 193,
 194, 195, 198, 199n, 200, 201, 203
 Āhavamalladēvan, *m*, 86, 88
 Āhavamalla kulakāla, *sur* of Vīnaijēndia I,
 198.
 Āhavamallanai - mummadi - ven-kanda, *sur* of
 Vīnaijēndia I, 199.
 Aihole, *vi*, [6]
 Aimbūni, *sa* Ammundi, 92, 94, 111, 113.
 aiṅjangam, 321n
 Airāvata, 460.
 Anāvatēsvara, *te*, 226
 Anarēya-Brahmana, 416n.
 Aivaimalai, *vi*, 448, 449
 Aiyakki, *vi*, 73
 Aiyana, *people*, 57
 Aiyān Perumān, *m*, 330
 Aiyai, *father or elder brother*, 196
 Aiyāran Dēvaigandan, *m*, 428, 429, 438
 Aiyāyattirunūruva-Brahmapūyan, *see* Siva-
 dāsan-Brahmapūyan
 Ajagava, *Siva's bow*, 414n
 Ajamida, *mythical k.*, 417n
 Ājīvikas, *jainas*, 122
 ājñapti, 443, 444, 459, 462, 465

Akālakīla, *sur of Arikēsari Asamasaman Māra-*
vaiman, 445, 446, 464
 Akalanaka, *sur of Vikrama-Chōla*, 180, 181
 Ākhandala, *s a India*, 464
 Akkāla-Bhattan, *m*, 113
 akkam = $\frac{1}{12}$ *kāṣu*, 239n
 Akkisaima-Kiamavittan, *m*, 280
 Alagiya-Chōla (Sōlan), *sur of Alagiya-Pallavan*,
 123
 Alagiya-Chōla, *sur of Chōla-Pillai*, 208
 Alagiya-Pallavan, *ch*, 123
 Alagiya-pāndiyapuram, *vi*, 159, 163
 Alagiyasōlanallūr, *sur of Ūrрукādu*, 81
 Ālamēdu, 57, 73, 75, 78, 83
 Alakā, *city of Kuberā*, 418
 ālakku, *gram and liquid measure*, 3, 11, 96, 97,
 118, 189, 202, 227, 231, 233, 317, 318, 378,
 382
 ālai, ālayam or ālaya, *a temple*, 24n
 Āla-or Ala-nādu, *di*, 244, 443, 444, 453, 459, 462
 ālangādu, *the banyan forest*, 134
 Ālangādu, *see Tiruvālangādu*
 Alanghyavikrama, *sur of Arikēsari Asamasaman*
Māravaiman, 445, 446, 464
 Ālangudi, *vi*, 126, 178, 183n, 191, 428, 429.
 Alankāmitran, *m*, 334
 Alankāran Śīfāman, *m*, 64.
 Alankāran, *sur of Urappōndān*, 83
 Ālatti, *vi*, 129, 161
 Ālattū, *vi*, 234, 297
 Ālavadi, *road*, 73, 78, 81
 Ālavandān, *Chōla prince*, 33, 36, 194
 Alchechiyāru, *ri*, 141, 143
 Ālgudi, *vi*, 171
 Ālikkonrai, *vi*, 111, 259
 Āli-nādu, *di*, 237
 Alinganapākkam, *vi*, 91
 Alūpukalam, *land*, 91
 Alivāmlai-Mādambi, *m*, 232
 Alliyūr-Udayān, *m*, 186
 Allūr, *vi*, 73, 74
 Ālōdupōyil, *channel*, 46
 Āludaiyār or Āludaiya-Nāyanār, *image of*, 210,
 212, 213, 216
 Ālumbūn, *m*, 88
 alun-gana, *see*, gana
 Ālvār, *a term of respect*, [14], 248, 249
 Ālvār, *got*, 71, 74, 83, 103, 104, 186, 189, 294,
 295, 318, 361, 375
 Ālvār, *a Vaishnava saint*, [2], 148, 186, 187
 Ālvārkulam, *tank*, 322
 amaichchi, 479, 480
 Amanbōgam, *field*, 365
 Amangavāykkāl, *channel*, 435
 Amangudi, *vi*, 259
 Amaninārāyana (or Avaniinārāyana)-chaturvēdi-
 mangalam, *sur of Kāvadippākkam*, 96, 232,
 327, 329
 Amani (or Avani) nārāyana-chaturvēdimangalam,
vi, 242, 256, 257, 258, 259
 Amani (or Avani) nārāna (nārāyana) vadi, 324,
 332, 333, 334, 337, 370
 amāji, *tax*, 253, 327, 332, 333, 334, 337, 339,
 342, 344, 346, 348, 349, 353, 360, 371.
 Amankudi, *sur of Kanavadinallūr*, 477, 489

Amanpākkam, *s a*. Ammanambākkam, 50, 51,
 59, 63
 Amanpatti-kinaidu, *well*, 436
 Amābhharana Śīyaganga, *ch*, 89, 122, 123, 207.
 Amāabhujanga, *Pāndya k*, 387, 421
 Amarakōn, *m*, 217
 Amāakōn-kilavan Karaikkandan, *m*, 352.
 Amāāvati, *ri*, 45
 Amāāvati, *Indra's capital*, 416
 Amāūnimangalam, *vi*, 94
 Ambalakkūta-Bhattan, *m*, 88
 ambalam, *a hall*, 11, 300, 364, 365
 ambalappuram, 300
 Ambalattu-tūmbu, *source*, 204
 Ambalavan Tiruppondaiyār, *m*, 138
 Ambai, *vi*, [6]
 Ambaisha, *mythical k*, 415n
 Ambar-nādu, *di*, 163, 427, 429
 Ambāsamudiam, *vi*, [18], 448
 Ambattū, *vi*, 73n, 286, 287, 288, 358
 Ambattūērīkīlnādu, *di*, 358
 Ambattū-nādu, *di*, 73, 76, 287
 Ambilavāyil, *s a* Āmulavāyal, 133, 134
 Āmbū, *vi*, 90, 165
 Amṇa-raṭṭjana-Śiva, *m*, 253
 Ammai, *see* Kāraikkāl-Ammal.
 Ammai-Nāchechiyār, *s a* Vandāikulal-Nāchechi-
 yār, 384, 426
 Ammaisēi, *vi*, 426
 Ammaiappa, *got*, 384, 389, 425
 Ammanambākkam, *vi*, 50, 59
 Ammangā, Ammangādēvi or Ammangayambā,
queen of E. Chalukya Rājārāja I, [21], 127,
 196, 435n
 Ammātti Śriambalavan, *m*, 360, 361
 Ammūndi, *vi*, 92, 125
 Ammuri-Ilam-Peundi, *m*, 29
 Amōghavarsha I, *Rāshtrakuta k*, 90, 99
 Āmulavāyal, *vi*, 133n
 Āmūr, *vi*, 165
 Āmūi-kōttam, *di*, 165, 167, 261, 262, 356, 362,
 363, 438
 Āmūi-nādu, *di*, 165
 Anaghaṭṭayan, *m*, 217
 Anai-Akkaṇappādū, *vi*, 363, 364
 Ānaichehēvagan, *Chōla prince*, 62.
 Ānaikkarukku, *land*, 143
 Ānaikkattāttū, *vi*, 363
 Ānaimalai, *vi*, [9], [10], 239, 241, 442, 449
 Ānaimērruūjinār, *s a* Rājāditya, [13], 279, 377,
 378
 Ānaippākkam, *vi*, 391, 433, 434
 Analapratāpa, *k*, 385, 414
 Ānandabōdhan Vēlān Śrīāmadēvan, *m*, 82
 Anantavaiman, *sur of Chōdaganga* 20, 62n, 130.
 Anantavikrama-Mūvēndavēlān, *sur of Parañ-*
jōdi Nilan, 307.
 ānatti, *office*, 289, 292, 301, 308, 445, 462, 465.
 Anavatasundānanallūr, *sur. of* Kuvalakōdu,
 16
 ānavāy-dandam, *tax*, 226
 Anbaikadīyān, *sur of Kanperrān Manrunirandān*
 473
 Anbū, *vi*, [3], [4], [8], [12]n, [14], [15], 383.
 Andakkudi, *vi*, 163
 Anda-nādu, *di*, 445, 450, 465.

Andanallūr, *vi*, 285
 Andanū, *vi*, 31, 41, 42, 47, 48.
 Andanū-vāyikkāl, *channel*, 250, 264
 andār, 472, 473
 Āndāyakkudi, *vi*, 159, 162
 Andhaka, *demon*, 425
 Andhira (Andira) or Āndhra-mandala (or vishaya)
 the Telugu country, 33n, 57, 90, 128, 387, 421
 Āndhira road, 90
 Anduvanallū Thuvālandurai, *vi*, 285.
 Anga, *mutual k*, 415n
 Angādī-Bhattan, *m*, 119, 120
 angāhkkāl, *tax*, 222, 391
 Angārai, *vi*, 111, 330
 Amkilān, *m*, 362
 Aniruddha-Brahmādhīya, *m*, [15]
 ankurāpanam, *ceremony*, 189n
 Annalan, *ch*, 37
 aṇṇāhkkāl, *gram measure*, 241
 Annāmalai, *m*, 253
 Annārūr, *vi*, 292
 Annigere, *vi*, 53
 Annigere-nādu, *di*, 53
 Anniyudaiyān, *m*, 475
 Anpūdi, *vi*, 92n
 antaiāya, *tax*, 121n, 162n, 177, 253, 307, 308
 Anukka-Nambi, *m*, 46
 Anupamā, *Chōla princess*, [15], 257
 Annshubh, *metric*, 450, 462.
 Aparājita or Aparājita-vikramavāman, *Pallava k*,
 [8], [10], 221, 386, 419, 449
 Aparājita-chaturvēdamangalam, *sur. of Ukkal*,
 2, 3
 Āpatsahāyēsvara, *te*, 294
 Apūvi, *Vedic Brahmins*, 82n, 233
 arachchālābhōgam, 389, 427
 Araikkālmukkāl, *field*, 106
 arai, (ara, araiy or arav)-ōlai, *a document*, 163n,
 275, 437
 Arasānguttam, *pond*, 61
 Arasūr, *vi*, [10], 30, 109, 111, 231, 232, 427,
 428, 448
 Arasū-vādagai, *vi*, 109, 111
 Arāyamān Arangan Pisangan, *m*, 438
 Arāvan, *ch*, 59, 63
 Arāvan Kaipagam, *m*, 307
 Arāvan Kudirangi, *ch*, 163
 Arāvan Madunāntakan, *ch*, 162
 Arāvan Nāgarāvan, *sur of Thumanappichechan*,
 469, 470
 Arāvan Rājārājan or Rājārājan, *ch.*, 38, 39,
 41
 Arāvan Śīkandan, *m*, 427, 428
 Arāvan Śivakkolundu, *m*, 293
 Arāyarāman Mandagavan, *m*, 119
 Arāyū, *vi*, 139
 Arānaippulam, *vi*, 71, 73, 74, 82, 83, 177
 Arānēi, *m*, 389, 426
 Arangan Thuchirrambalamudaiyān, *m*, 38
 Arani, *vi*, 118, 139
 Arantāngi Pōimugavīran, *m*, 276.
 Arapadasēkharamangalam, *vi*, 450
 Arasāranālayakkōn, *sur of Arāyarāman Manda-*
gavan, 119
 Arasanārāyanan Ēlīsāmōgan, *m*, 210.
 Ātatta, *cc*, 388, 422.

Arattamukki(or mikki)dāsan, *m*, 79, 81, 83,
 84
 Aravābharanadēva, *maye*, 470, 471, 475.
 Aravābharanan Elluttapādām, *m*, 471
 Aravābharanan Iyabaiadanādan, *m*, 471
 Ārāvamudu Śīhāman, *m*, 151
 Ārāvala-kūriam, *di*, 428
 Ārāvamūta or Ārāvamudu, *m*, 392, 439
 Araviudan Kūian, *m*, 472
 Arāvan, *m*, 171
 Arāvan Ambala, *m*, 151
 Arāvan garudavāhan, *m*, 151
 Arayēru-Bhattan, *m*, 437n
 archchanābhōga or archchanāvittī 247, 281, 325,
 327, 329, 330, 334, 335, 343, 344n, 346, 348,
 364, 369
 Archudan (Achuta) Rajanārāyanan Tondamān,
m, 39
 Andhīan, *m*, 91
 Aukēsai Asamasaman Mūlavaiman, *Pāndya k*,
 442, 445, 446, 447, 464
 Aukēsai, *sur of Tēmāran Rājāsīmha I.*, 442,
 443, 446, 447, 448, 457
 Aukēsai, *m*, 445, 463
 Aukēsaimallū, *sur of Śinnamanū*, 450.
 Arikulakēsai, Arikulakēsaidēva, Arikulakēsai-
 yāi, Aukēsai or Arindigai, *s a Aumjaya*, [13]
 [14], [16], 228, 229, 236, 246, 247, 248, 249,
 257, 387
 Arikulavaiāna-Nambi, *m*, 151
 Aumjaya, Aumjaya or Aumjigai, *Chōla k*, [12],
 [13], [14], [16], 22, 102, 196, 236, 246, 263,
 264, 279, 377, 387, 419n
 Arindama, Arindigai or Arindigai-Perumānār,
s a Aumjaya, [13], [14], [16], 236, 237,
 246n, 387
 Aumjivara or Aumjigai-Īsvara, *s a Chōlēsvāra*,
 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 387
 Aumjigai-vāyikkāl, *channel*, 246, 247
 Aūsil, *vi*, 155n
 Ārta Nakkan, *m*, 318
 Antan Charitan, *m*, 318
 Anvālvadi, *road*, 73
 Anvāraṇa, *elephant*, 56n
 Anvidukkōttai, *vi*, 448
 Ānyam or Ānyakkūttu, *dance*, 378, 379
 Anyapillai, *Hoysali queen*, 122n
 Anyapillai, *queen of Amarābharana Śīyaganga*,
 122, 123, 208
 Anyai (or Ānya) Perumbākkam, *vi*, 266, 269,
 273
 Aijuna, *epic hero*, 442, 443, 446, 457, 460
 Aijuna, *tree*, 155
 Āikkādu, *vi*, 252
 Āikkāttu-kūriam, *di*, 252, 253
 Arkōnam, *vi*, 185n, 208n
 Ārūr, *vi*, 22, 24, 25, 27, 263, 264, 387
 Ārū-tuñjina-dēva, *sur of Arūjaya*, 23, 25, 27,
 387
 Aukēsaimallū, *s a Śinnamanūr*, 244
 Arulāla-Bhattan, *m*, 85, 168
 Arulāladāsan, *sur. of Kumāla-Peruvāniyan Dēvan*
Bhūjodi, 143
 Arulāla-Perumāl, *te*, 143n, 186, 189, 190, 208n.
 Arulāman, *m*, 11
 Arumbākilān, *m*, 329
 Arumbākilān Vagundan Kādādi, *m.*, 438.

rumolidēva, *see* Arumolivaṁman,
 rumolidēva, *street*, 30, 143
 rumolidēvachēṇi, *vi*, 437
 rumolidēvan, *gram and liquid measure*, 8, 113,
 139, 148
 rumolidēva-valanādu, *sur. of* Ten-kaduvāy, 38,
 114, 162, 295, 427, 428, 429, 437, 438, 465,
 469
 rumolinangai, *queen of* Viṇaijēndra, 33, 189n,
 197
 rumolinangai, *measure*, 189, 190
 rumolinangai, *queen of* Pārthivēndravaiṁman,
 343
 rumoli Porkāṇi, *m*, 159
 rumoli-Tiuppanangādu, *vi*, 43
 rumoli-Viluppaiyaṇi, *ch*, 136
 rundhatī, *wife of* Vāsishtha, 185, 420
 rumidi Kaliyan or Maṇḍūrudaiyaṇ Arumidi
 Kaliyan, *ch*, 239, 241, 242
 rumoli (or Arumoli) varman or Arumoli
 (or Arimoli), *sur. of* Rājārāja I, [16], 22,
 387, 420, 421
 rūṇan Uḍaiyadivākaṇan, *m*, 293, 308, 312.
 ruvā-Kīlāl-Muttigandan, *m*, 26
 ruvā-nādu, *du*, 227, 228
 rvaḷa-kūrram, *du*, 429, 438
 rya, *race*, [1]
 ryaman or Aryamā, *mythical k*, 384, 414
 ryāvaita, *co*, [4]n.
 sōka, *Maurya emperor*, [1], [2], [4]n
 sōkaiyan, *ch*, 59, 63, 68
 stikkadai, *fierce battle*, 231, 232n
 suras, 414n, 463
 svamēdha, *sacrifice*, 233, 416n, 442, 457
 svamēdhika-Paivan, *a chapter of the Mahābhā-*
rata, 416n
 takū, *vi*, 386n
 tchi, *possession*, 13
 timāna, *Pallava title*, 268n
 timānappādi (or pādi), *quarter of* Conjeeveram,
 265, 266, 267, 272, 273, 274
 tṭai-vāṇṇai, *annual supervision committee*, 275
 takam, 257
 tṭāni Śiyāṇṇan Muḍi-Viluppaiyaṇ, *ch*, 38,
 39
 tti, *Chōla emblem*, 385n
 tti, *tree*, 431, 433, 435
 ttiṇṇana, *elephant*, 56
 ttiṇṇaiṁman, *Pallava k*, [6].
 ttiṇṇi or Ttiṇṇattiyū, *s a*. Conjeeveram, 186,
 189
 ttiṇṇa-chatuvēdibhattan, *m*, 249.
 tukkirai, *tax*, 311, 391
 vanakkali, 155n
 vanam or vilaiyāvanam, *sale-deed*, 12, 16, 105n
 vaṇchūlāman Māṇavaṁman, *Pāṇḍya k*, 446
 vaṇmuludaiyaṇ, *title of* Tṛāgavallī, 177,
 178
 vaṇisikhāman, *sur. of* Dēvayan Pulalakkan,
 378
 vāsāt, āvāsakāt or vāsakāt, 459n.
 vattaikilavan, *m*, 330
 vikshī, *mythical k*, 416n.
 iṣu, *oblation*, 227
 vū, *vi*, 8
 vū-kūṇam, *du*, 8, 373
 vū-nāttu-Vēlār, *m*, 235.

Ayalaṇṇi Manran, *m*, 378
 Ayandambakkam, *vi*, 117.
 Āyavēl, *the Āy k*, 446.
 Ayidi Kādādi, *m*, 28
 Āyṇattunūrruvan, *m*, 5, 6
 Āyirattunūrruvan, *family name*, 346n
 Āyṇattirunūrruvan Muḍikonḍān, *m*, 155.
 Āyṇavan Ayyan Perumān, *m*, 438.
 Āyiravan Arangan, *m*, 437.
 Āyiravēl, *vi*, 446.
 Ayyūr, *vi*, 446
 Ayōdhyā, *vi*, 53, 58n, 62n.
 Ayyan or Ayyanāi, *village god*, 9n, 343, 344.

B

Bādāmi, *vi*, [6]
 Bāhūr, *vi*, 92.
 Balakkāra, *m*, 59n
 Bāl, *mythical k*, 415n
 bāl or śrībāl, 20, 189, 202, 301, 318, 332, 334,
 335, 343, 344, 349, 354, 369, 370, 371
 Bāna, *family*, [6], [9], 22n, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92,
 93n, 95, 97, 98, 99, 100, 103
 Bānavaiṁman, *vi*, 89.
 Bānavāsi, *vi*, 16, 32, 130
 Bānavidyādhara, *see* Vānavidyādhara
 Belatūru, *vi*, 130, 190
 Belvola, *co*, 53.
 Benares, *vi*, 385, 415
 Bengal, *co*, [19], 57n.
 Beṇai, *co*, [19].
 Bezwada, *vi*, 65
 Bhadiā, *vi*, 32
 Bhāṇankadu Vāsudēva-Bhatta Sōmāsiyār (Sō-
 mayājṇi), *m*, 338
 Bhagavadgīta, *Sanskrit work*, 336.
 Bhagavatī, *te*, 445, 465.
 Bhagavatī-vāykkāl, *channel*, 353
 Bhagīnatha, *mythical solar k*, [19], 385, 416,
 424
 Bhaktajanēśvara, *te*, 197, 198
 Bhāṇadvāja, *sage*, 460.
 Bhāṇata, *mythical k*, [4], 385, 416, 458
 Bhāṇata, *channel*, 70
 Bhārata, *war*, 143, 444, 460
 Bhārgava, *s a* Paraśurāma, 423
 Bhāṣaia, *m*, 443, 444, 458, 462.
 Bhāṣaiansetti, *m*, 444, 462
 Bhatāia, *god*, 244
 Bhatta Kumāṇi, *see* Kumāṇi Bhatta
 Bhattāikā, *s a* Durgā, 136n
 Bhattas, *learned Brahmanas*, 222, 223, 232, 327,
 329
 bhattavṇitti, 377
 Bhavanandi - Chaturvēdibhatta - Sōmayājṇi, *m*,
 257
 Bhavanandi Sahasān, *m*, 71.
 Bhavāni, *s a* Pārvatī, 413
 Bhīma, *Andhra k*, 387, 421.
 Bhīmaṇāja, *m*, 59n.
 Bhīmavaiṁman, *vi*, 130
 Bhīshma-Paivan, *of the Mahābhārata*, [1] n.
 Bhōjadēva, *Dhārā k*, [19].
 Bhīmaṇālakāmbā, *s a*. Vaṇḍārkulal-Nāchchiyār,
 384
 Bhṛigu, *race*, 423.
 Bhūti Vikramakēśarin, *Kodumbālūr ch*, 249.

Bhuvanamulududaiyāl, *sur of* Dīnacintāmani, 177
 Bhuvanamulududaiyāl, *sur of* Tyāgavallī, 178
 Bhuvanamulududaiyāl, *queen of* Kulōttunga III, 210, 212, 215, 219
 Bilhana, *poet*, 129
 Bilvanāthēsvara, *te*, 58, 88, 89, 90, 104, 108
 Bindumatī, *f*, 415n
 Bitiagunta, *vi*, 207n
 boar, *crest*, 132
 bow, *emblem*, 443, 460
 Brahṁā, *god*, [20], 413n, 458, 462
 brahmachārin, 227n, 285n, 319n
 Brahmadēsam, *vi*, [21]
 brahmadēya, 113, 154, 155, 171, 173, 222, 228, 229, 231, 241, 242, 244, 247, 248, 256, 257, 259, 280, 284, 291, 292, 293, 298, 300, 307, 309, 311, 312, 376, 381, 389, 390, 392, 427, 428, 450, 459, 461, 462, 480
 Brahmadhūāja, *sur of* Tiruvikrama-Bhattai, 2, 3
 Brahmagunākaraividyaśthāna - Manglāditya - Sa-mañjasapūyan, *sur of* Āynatturunūruvan, 5, 6
 Brāhmana, *caste*, [4]n, [17], 2, 3, 13, 14, 21, 46n, 57, 90, 95, 103, 111, 113, 227, 231, 233, 239, 241, 256, 269, 273, 274, 275, 298, 299, 300, 301, 307, 308, 312, 318, 319, 320, 327, 337, 374, 375, 389, 416n, 420, 464, 469
 Brahmānī, *shrine of*, 136, 139
 Brahmapūyan, *m*, 86, 88, 356
 Brahmapūyan, *see* Śivadāsan Brahmapūyan.
 Brahmaputīā, *vi*, [1]n
 Brahmasthāna, *or* Brahmasthāna-mandapa, 22, 57, 63, 70, 253
 Brihadīsvara, *te*, [17], 31, 235
 Brihajjātaka, *work*, [1]
 Brihaspati, *sage*, 415, 418, 425, 458
 Brihatsamhitā, *work*, 388n, 422n
 British Museum, [6], 118n
 Buddhāmita, *author*, 197
 Buddhism, *religion*, [2]
 Buddhist, [2], [22]
 Budha, *mythical k*, 446.
 Bumah, 195
 Būtuga, *W Ganga ch*, [12], 386

C

Ceylon, *island*, [2], [10], [11], [14], [15], [16], [17], [18], [22], 39, 52, 53, 59, 206, 231, 232, 245, 255, 267, 275, 292, 386, 387, 390, 421, 444, 450, 470, 473, 474, 476, 477, 478
 Chakia (or Chakkara)-kōtta (or kōttam), *see* Śak-kara-kōttam
 Chakrapāni Nambī, *m*, 17, 18
 Chakravartin, *title*, 131, 181
 Chakravartin, *biruda of* Pāṇṭaka I, [13]
 Chalukya, Eastern, *dy.*, [21], 65, 125, 126, 127, 128, 132, 147n, 172n, 179, 194, 203, 208, 243, 435n
 Chālukya, Western, *dy.*, [6], [16], [17], [18], 32, 33, 49, 52, 53, 55n, 56n, 57, 58, 62n, 63, 64, 65, 68, 69, 118, 140, 161n, 180, 193, 194n, 195, 197, 204, 388, 389, 422, 423, 425
 chāmaras, *fly-whisks*, 37
 Champaka, *tree*, 311.
 Chāmundaiaja or Chāvundaiaja, *ch*, 32, 37.

Chāmundēsvarī, *shrine of*, 137
 Chandēsvara or Ādi-(or Ādīdāsa-) Chandēsvara, *god*, 46, 111, 114, 167, 171, 172, 186
 Chandīadēva-Annattī Kramavittan, *m*, 75
 Chandradēva-Attālī-Kramavittan, *m*, 64.
 Chandīāditya, *family*, 221n
 Chandīapit, *mythical solar k*, 385, 415.
 Chārudēvī, *Pallava queen*, [6]
 Chatuvēdimangalam, *sur. of* Kāyvantandalam, 173
 Chāvēr (sāvēru), 147n.
 Chēbiōlu, *vi*, 179, 180, 181
 Chellū, *vi*, 43, 77, 125, 128, 130, 131, 132, 156n, 178, 179, 181
 Chendalū, *vi*, [6]
 Chengannān, *see* Kōchchengannān.
 Chēra, *co*, [1], [2], [3], [4], [8], [12], [13], [15]n, 24n, 29, 31, 52, 55n, 56, 72, 119, 120n, 130, 185, 194, 203, 206, 218, 221, 222, 235, 236, 368n, 385n, 386, 418n, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 460, 469, 470
 Chēru, Chēvur or Chēvūra, *vi*, [14], 148n, 387.
 Chidambaram, *vi*, [13], 30n, 43, 125, 127, 130, 131, 144n, 158n, 182, 185n, 196n, 204, 205, 210, 212n, 214, 216n, 288, 386.
 China, *co*, [21]
 Chingleput, *vi*, 143
 chinnam, *a fraction*, 281.
 Chinmapēt, *vi*, 134
 Chitradhanvan, *mythical solar k*, 385, 416, 417n.
 Chitra-kūta *painted hall*, 15
 Chitrakūta, (or *kōta), *vi*, [19], 466.
 Chitrakūta, *a* Saundaraiāja-Perumāḷ *te*, 139, 140
 Chitra-mandapa, 266, 272.
 Chitramuvai, *vi*, 443, 445, 446, 450, 460
 Chitriaratha I, *mythical Chōla k*, 385, 416
 Chitriaratha II, *mythical Chōla k*, 385, 417.
 Chitrāsva, *mythical k*, 385, 416, 417
 Chōda, *a* Chōla, [1], [2], [4]n, 179, 180.
 Chōda, *Velamāndu ch*, 128, 180.
 Chōda-Ganga, *E Ganga k*, [22], 62n, 130, 196
 Chōla, *co*, [1], [2], [3], [4], [5], [7], [8], [9], [10], [11], [12], [13], [14], [15], [16], [17], [18], [19], [20], [21], [22], 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 14, 17, 18, 20, 22, 23, 24n, 29, 30, 32, 33n, 37n, 49, 50, 53, 56, 57, 58, 59, 62n, 63, 64, 65, 68, 69, 70, 89, 90, 92, 100n, 101, 102, 104, 106, 111, 113, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 136, 140, 147, 156, 159n, 162, 167n, 173n, 174, 176, 179, 180, 181, 182, 189n, 190n, 196, 197, 199n, 206, 218, 221, 222, 226, 229, 235, 237, 238, 239n, 242, 250, 251, 255, 257, 258, 262, 265, 267, 268, 272, 284, 288, 333, 356, 373, 375, 383, 384, 385, 386, 388, 413, 420, 421, 423n, 441, 444, 445, 446, 448, 449, 461, 465, 469, 477
 Chōlagangam, *tank*, [22], 389, 425.
 Chōlaganga, *sur of* Rājendra-Chōla I, [20], [22].
 Chōlakulasundara, *sur of* Virarājendra I, 198
 Chōlamahāiaja, *title*, [4] n.
 Chōla (Chōda or Śōla)-mandala, *the Chōla country*, 8, 117, 134, 162, 181, 190, 429.
 Chōlanārāyana, *legend*, 130.
 Chōla-Pāndya, or Śōla-Pāndiyan, *title*, [18], [22], 33, 36, 62, 388, 423.

Chôla-Pândya, *s a* Sundarachôla-Pândya, [18]
 Chôla-Pillai, *ch*, 208
 Chôlapinam, *vi*, 125, 126, 144, 159
 Chôla or Chôlavaiman, *mythical k*, [4], 385, 416.
 Chôlêndia, *sur of* Madhurântaka, 33, 36n
 Chôlêndiasimha, *sur of* Râjêndia Chôla I, 424
 Chôlêndra (or Sôlêndra)simhêsvara, *s a* Sôma-nâthêsvara, 22, 23, 24, 29, 30
 Chôlêsva, *te*, 22, 159, 387
 Chûdâmanivaiman, *Katâha k*, [21]
 Chûdâmanivarmavihâra, *Buddhist Monastery*, [21]
 Chûlal, *vi*, 443, 444, 450, 459, 462
 Chuliyê, *s a* Chôla, [4]n, 386
 Cintia, *vi*, 27
 Coimbatore, *vi*, 46.
 Comorin, cape, 13n, 22n, 68n, 130, 144, 147n, 159, 225, 233, 275, 332, 335, 339, 345, 346, 347, 348, 357, 362, 365, 371
 Conjeevaram, *vi*, [1], [5], [7], [12], 1, 79, 117n, 125, 126, 128, 129, 144, 143n, 163, 168n, 178, 186, 187, 206, 207, 208n, 212n, 267, 268, 336, 342, 348, 388
 Cranganore, *vi*, 31
 Cuddalore, *vi*, 209
 Cumbum, *vi*, 450
 Cupid, *god*, 415, 419, 420

D

Dabhrasabhâ, *the golden hall at Chidambaram*, 386, 419
 Dekhan, *co*, [6]
 Dakshina, *co*, [6]
 Dakshina-Lâdam, *see* Takkana - Lâdam
 Dakshinâmûrti shrine of, 282
 Dakshinâpatha, 224n
 Dakshina-Rûdha *Part of* Bengal, [19], 466
 Dakshina-Vinâta, *s a* Southern Betar, 466.
 Dalavânui, *vi*, [6]
 Dâmal, *vi*, 254
 damanaga, *plant*, 392, 437
 Dâmai (or Dâmal)-kôttam, *di*, 253, 254, 342, 368, 374, 375
 Dâmai-nâdu, *di*, 373, 374
 Dâmôdara, *m*, 392, 439
 Dâmôdara-bhattan, *m*, 358, 427, 429
 Dâmôdara-chên, *vi*, 335, 336
 Dâmôdara-Kramavittan, *m*, 74.
 Dâmôdiran Sînâlan, *m*, 428, 429.
 dâna, *a demon*, 413
 danda, *a fine*, 38, 43, 121, 122.
 Dandabutti, *vi*, [18], [19], 466
 Dandânâyaka or Dandanâtha, *a commander*, 33, 65n, 68, 69, 130, 387, 388, 422, 424
 Dandîsva, *te*, 250, 252
 Dantiprâttyar, *queen of* Râjêndia-Chôla I, [21]
 Dantivarma, *Pallava k*, [6]
 Dappula V, *Ceylon k*, [11]
 Dasâpanman, *ch*, 58, 63.
 dasavandam, *tax*, 162
 Dasavaiman, *s a* Yasôvaiman, 58n
 Daushyanti *s a* Bharata, 416
 Dayâparappêrambalam, *hall*, 299, 300
 days of the week —
 Friday, 71, 73, 74, 239, 241, 283, 284
 Monday, 70, 82, 83, 87, 191, 210, 449
 Sunday, 182, 185, 201n, 202

Thursday, 63, 79, 122 n, 173, 276, 277, 278.
 Tuesday, 88, 217, 219
 Wednesday, 53, 57, 86
 days, lunar —
 First fortnight —
 first, 87
 second, 57, 73, 74n,
 fifth, 86
 sixth, 173
 ninth, 276
 twelfth, 74
 thirteenth, 182, 185
 fourteenth, 79
 full-moon, 102.
 Second, fortnight —
 second, 88
 fifth, 210, 219
 eighth, 63, 279
 ninth, 83
 fourteenth, 70
 days, solar —
 first, 207
 eighteenth, 284
 dêva, *a god*, 414n
 dêvadâna, 70, 78 n, 94, 117, 134, 138, 143, 148, 162, 171, 199, 227, 228, 234, 241, 242, 245, 249, 250, 256, 257, 259, 276, 278, 280, 284, 285, 289, 291, 292, 293, 299, 300, 301, 306, 307, 308, 309, 311, 312, 322, 351, 356, 362, 363, 373, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 383, 389, 390, 391, 392, 426, 427, 428, 429, 436, 437, 438, 461, 462, 465, 469, 480
 Dêvadi (Têvadi) Kamalan, *m*, 428, 429, 438,
 dêva (or dêvar)kanmi, *temple servants*, 44, 228, 230, 231, 264, 292 376, 379
 Dêvakumâra-Kramavittan, *m*, 251
 Dêvakuttai, *land*, 364.
 Dêvan, *m*, 277
 Dêvanâr, *m*, 361, 367.
 Dêvanâtha, *ch*, 69, 194, 202.
 Dêvandamâdan Arulalan, *m*, 168
 Dêvan Divâkaran, *m*, 473
 Dêvangudi, Dêvankudi or Têvangudi, *vi*, 216, 255, 427, 428
 Dêvan Idangondân, *m*, 159
 dêvaradiyâr, *temple servants*, 48, 227, 334, 372, 471, 473
 Dêvâram, *Sarva scripture*, 30, 31n, 89n, 93, 132, 134, 143, 152, 155, 182, 230, 281, 294, 296, 297, 298, 375, 382, 384
 Dêvayan Pulalakkan, *f*, 378
 Dêvêndian, *biruda of* Parântaka I, [10]
 Dhânâ, *co*, [19], 33, 37, 69n, 132, 134, 466n.
 Dhânamulududaiyâl, *queen of* Vikrama-Chôla, 182, 185
 Dhânâvarâsan (Dhânâvarsha), *Sinda ch*, [19], 128 and *add*, 132 and *add*, 134 and *add*, 466
 dharmâ (or dhanma)kattalai, *gold weight*, 367
 dharmakattalai-tulai-nirai, *standard weight*, 30, 373, 374
 Dharmapâla, *k*, [19], 388, 424, 469
 Dharmapriyan, *m*, 11
 Dharmapuri, *vi*, 208
 dharmâsana, danmâdana or dhanmâsana, *court of justice*, 13, 239, 253, 342, 346, 354, 357.
 Dharmêsvara, *te*, 49, 87
 Dhâtaki, *tree*, 385, 417
 Dhishana, *s a* Brihaspati, 418, 425

Dhundhu, *demon*, 385, 414
 Dhundhumāra, *mythical k*, 385, 414
 digvijaya, 387, 388, 421, 422
 Dīkshita, 113
 Dimiice, *s a* Diavida, [1]
 Dīnachintāmani, *sur of* Madhumāntakī, 131, 156, 158, 159, 177, 178.
 Dīghabāhu, *mythical k*, 385, 415
 Divākara-bhātan, *m*, 358
 Dōnaira-bhātan, *m*, 83
 Dōnasura-Kīamavittan, *m*, 168
 Dōna [Dīōna, Dōnaya, Dōniya *or* Dōpasāiman, forms of, 168 n
 Dōnava-Kīamavittan, *m*, 73
 Dīākshāīāma, *vi*, 126, 180
 Dāmida, Diavida *or* Diāvida, *s a* Diamila, [1], [2]
 Diamila *or* Diamila, *ev*, [1], 128n.
 Dramilaka *or* Dramidaka, *s a* Tamilakam, [1]
 Dravidas, the five, 129
 Dravidian, *race*, [1], [2]
 Drōna, *sage*, 168 n.
 Dūtavilambitam, *metre*, 450.
 Dūdakani (Dūta-Hani) 'Inuvaiangamani-Bhātan, *m*, 164
 Dugā, *or* Dugā-Bhātāī *or* Bhātāīakī goddess, [7], 136n, 335, 336, 350
 Dushyanta, *mythical k*, 385, 416
 Dūsi, *vi*, 8
 Dūta-Hani, *s a* Krishna, 164n, 190n
 Dūtahari-Ilaiyavulāla-Kīamavittan, *m*, 190
 Dātahari Nīranārāyana Kīamavittan, *m*, 190
 Dūtahari-Vennaiuttā-Kīamavittan *m.*, 190
 Dvāpara, *age*, 186n, 385, 417
 Dvāīā, *vi*, 49
 Dvēdagōmapuram *or* Vēdagōmapuram, *vi*, 247, 427, 429

E

Echchapperumān, *m*, 239.
 echchōru *or* echchoru, *tax*, 143n, and *add*, 253, 327, 332, 333, 334, 337, 339, 342, 344, 346, 348, 349, 353, 355, 360, 371
 eclipse, solar, 262, 263, 354.
 Êdagam *or* Tiruvēdagam, *vi*, 212n
 Edaipuram, *vi*, 357n, 367.
 Ededore, 2000, *di*, [17], 466
 Ediruli-Chōla-Sāmbuvarāyan, *sur of* Alagiya Chōla *a'ias* Chōla-Pillai, 208
 Ediruliśōlān, flower-garden of, 216
 Ediruli - Śōla-Sāmbuvarāyan, *sur of* Alagiya-Pallavan, 123
 Eduttapādān Inburrirundān, *m*, 158
 êkabhōga, 462
 êkāgrām, *see* agrām
 Ekāmianātha, *te*, 79, 122, 140n, 207, 212n
 Ekanāyakan, *measure*, 158, 159
 Êkavīā, *Pallava title* 268n
 Êkavīrappādī, *quarter*, 267, 268, 275
 Êlagam, *s a* Êdagam, 212
 Êlākkaiyai, *s a* Tōlācheviyar, 266, 268, 275
 Elalūr, *vi*, 295
 êlavai, *tax*, 38, 43, 45
 Êlāyanaiyalangan Karpagādtan, *m.*, 330n
 Êlāyirava ma. , *sur. of* Śāndiran Arundiruvān, 332.
 Elinūr, *s a* Elalūr, 277, 295.

êlisai, *explained*, 156n.
 Êlisai-Vallabhī, *queen of* Kulōttunga I, 131, 156, 158, 162, 177, 178
 Ellaikkāl-kāvu, 264
 Elloie, *vi*, 172n, 180
 Êlulagudaiyāl *or* Êlulagamudaiyāl, *s a*. Êlisai-Vallabhī, 177, 178.
 Elumbūr (Egmoie), *vi*, 133
 Êlumbūr-nādu, *di*, 133, 134
 Elunūruva-chaturvēdamangalam, *sur. of* Pattālam, 373, 374
 Elunūruvan, *sur. of* Arulsāman, 11
 Emberumān, *god or king*, 78, 85, 171, 172, 272
 Emberumān-Adigal Vilangavandāi, *f.*, 85
 Êni Gangādhāran, *m*, 27, 28
 ennai *or* ney-ennai, *liquid ghee*, 307n, 361, 365n
 Ennāhppokāl, *measure*, 273.
 Ennāyam, *vi*, [20], 233n, 388n
 eias.
 Êsaka, [9], [12], 33n, 43, 89, 95, 96, 123, 127, 159n, 179, 181, 204, 207, 282, 448.
 Kāl, *or* Kalyuga [4], [15], 282, 284
 Êran Êsāvan Gnisēkharan, *m*, 118
 Êran Puttagan, *m.*, 230
 Êran Sāttan, *m*, 28, 29
 Enichchā-Udayār, *te.*, 448
 êippatti, 226, 366
 Êiyū-nādu, *di*, 438
 êi-vānyam, *tank committee* 19, 232, 233, 327, 329
 êi-vānya-perumakkal (perum-Bhātāi), *committee*, 10, 17, 20, 21.
 Êiode (Îiōdu), *vi*, 30, 31n.
 Êiruvahichchēn, *quarter*, 265, 266, 267, 268, 272, 274, 275
 Etti 'Tnukkālatti-Udayān, *sur of* Uttamamēlū Udayān, 190
 Ettukkū, *vi*, 7, 95, 96
 Eyil-nādu, *di*, 117, 118, 143, 186, 189, 428, 429.
 Eyinūr, *vi*, 428, 429
 Eyir-kōttam, *di*, 117, 118, 143, 164, 168, 186, 189, 428, 429

F

Fa Hian, *Chinese pilgrim*, [6]
 fīsh, *emblem*, 388 n, 443, 460

G

gadyānaka, 257, 258
 Gahadavāla, *dy*, [21].
 gana, 233n
 gana *or* ālum-gana, *an administrative assembly*, 3, 11n, 251, 253
 Ganapati *or* Pillaiyān Ganapati, *god*, 137, 253, 297, 301, 321, 322, 349, 350, 382, 471
 Ganapuravan, *m*, 312
 Gandanāyaka (*sic* Dandanāyaka), 130.
 Gandappayan, *m*, 52, 56
 Gandarāditta Pallavaiayan, *sur of* Parabāmigan Mallan, 227, 228.
 Gandarāditya *or* Gandarādityadēva (Perumāl *or* varman), *Chōla k*, 13, [14], [15], [16], 102, 196, 228, 23c, 246, 250, 251, 263, 277, 286, 287, 299, 296, 297, 300, 306, 307, 386, 387, 419
 Gandarāditya, *en*, 90
 Gandarāditya, *Silāhāra ch*, 57n.

Gandar-Dinakarian, *s a* the *Silāhāru* Gandarāditya, 57

Gandhaiva, 414

Ganēśa, *s a* Ganapati, 322

Ganga, *family*, [6], [8], 120, 122, 207, 422

Ganga, Eastern, *dy*, [22], 62n, 106

Ganga, Western, *dy*, [7], [9], [12], 57n, 64, 68, 88, 89, 90, 99, 100, 104, 107, 185, 386, 444, 446, 449, 461

Gangā or Gangai, the *Gangv*, [19], [20], [22], 3, 9, 11, 13, 20, 22, 68, 96, 97, 100, 101, 111, 121, 122, 158, 162, 185, 224, 225, 233, 275, 324, 327, 332, 335, 337, 339, 343, 344, 346, 347, 348, 349, 357, 362, 363, 365, 370, 371, 385, 388, 389, 416, 417, 424, 425, 457, 469

Ganga or Ganga-mandala, *co*, 52, 53, 129, 144, 147, 162, 164n, 167n, 174, 176, 195, 388, 422

Ganga-Bāna, *family*, [10]

Gangādēvimanah, *land*, 107, 108

Gangādihara, *m*, 52, 53

Gangādihara-Bhattan, *m*, 88, 113

Gangādihara-Śiva, *m*, 253

Gangādihara Māyilatti, *m*, 330.

Gangaikonda, *s a*, Gangaikonda-chōlapuram, [20]

Gangaikonda-Chōla, *sur of* Rājēndia-Chōla I, [19], [20], [22] 127, 131, 195, 388n

Gangaikonda-Chōla (Śōlan), *Chōla prince*, 33, 36, 62

Gangaikonda Chōlēsvara, *te*, 1.

Gangaikondan, *vi*, 126.

Gangaikonda-Śōlan, *hall*, 117

Gangaikonda-Śōlapuram (Chōlapuram), *vi*, [20], 31, 33, 38, 64, 65, 68n, 70n, 126, 129n, 131, 152, 192, 193, 195, 390n

Gangākettan, *m*, 69

Gangakundapura, *s a* Gangaikondachōlapuram, 129, 131

Gangan, *title*, 55

Ganganēri (or Kanganēri)pattu, *vi*, 391, 434, 435

Gangapādi, *co*, 5, 6, 7, 11, 15, 24, 30, 32, 37, 105, 107, 193, 194

Ganga-Pallava, *s a* Pallava, 88, 99, 172, 289, 449

Ganga-Periādi, the *Ganga k*, 53

Gangāpurī *s a* Gangaikonda-Śōlapuram (or Chōlapuram), [20], 70, 131

Ganganāja, the *Ganga k*, 446

gātānaka, *see* gadyānaka

ghatige, *an assembly*, 92n

Gidangil, *vi*, 200, 202

Gōdāvarī, *ri.*, 65, 70, 388, 425

Gogumidhama, *vic*, Kongumivaima, 98n.

Gōsahasia, 464

gōssthī or kōttī, *an assembly*, 267, 274, 275

Gōshtbiśvara, *te*, 46.

gōtras:—

Ātri or Ātiya, 348, 443, 459

Bharadvāja (Pārādāya), 151, 158, 164, 263, 437

Gautama, 88

Hārta, 151, 317, 322

Kāśyapa (Kāchchuva), 88, 263, 438

Kausika, Senguti-Kausika or Komara-Kausika, 113, 119, 120, 443, 444, 458, 462.

Mudgalya, 443, 458.

Vādhūla, 87

Gōvaidhana, *vi*, 330, 332

Gōvindachandira, *Gahvāda* k, [20], 469.

Gōvindapādi or Gōvindavādi, *vi*, 253, 254, 342, 368, 374, 375

Gōvindapādi-Ālvār, *god*, 342, 343

Grāmākāyam-tiuttum-perumakkal, committee of, 21

Grāmam, *vi*, [9], [13]

Grāmasikhāmau-chaivēdimaangalam, *sur of* Manimaangalam, 49, 86, 87, 88

Grāmimallam, *vi*, 465n

Gujarat, *co*, [18]

Gūlgūnpode, *vi*, 90, 99

Gunabhara, *sur of* Mahēndravarma I, [6]

Gunākara Perumbilli, *Buddhist vihāra*, [22]

Gunakirtti-Bhātāra, *Jaina teacher*, 224, 225

Guṇupaiampaiāpiabhāva, *Vaishnava work*, [2], 177n, 186

H

Haihaya, *family*, 59

Hālāsya-Puāna, *work*, 460n

Hara, *s a* Śiva, 258, 422, 460

Haracharanasēgarān, *sur of* Śāttan Gunabhattan 297

Hari or Haihaya, *s a* India, 414, 457, 461

Hari, *s a* Vishnu, 218, 272, 419

havana, *a burnt oblation*, 18

hēmagarbha, *ceremony*, [13]

Hiranyagarbha, *ceremony*, 464.

hiranyāksha, *demon*, 134

Himālaya, *mo*, 70, 424 442, 443, 460, 464

Hsuen Tsiang, *Chinese traveller*, [1], [4]n, 13n, 197, 386

hōma, *an oblation*, 189, 202

Hottū, *vi*, [17] 388n

Hōvva, *see*, Ōvi

Hoysala, *family*, 31, 122n

I

Idaikkudi, *vi*, 438

Idamaundu, *s a* Tiruvaimaiundu, 155

Idappāttam or Idappūchi, *taa*, 311, 391.

Idaturainādu, *s a*. Ededoie, 2000, [16], 28, 390, 430, 465 468

Idayankādu, *land*, 77

Idayānu-nādu, *di*, 438

Ida-nāli, *passage between rooms*, 20n

Idangaināyagar, *s a* Rishabbavāhana, 171

Idangali-Nāyanār, *Chōla k*, and *Saint*, [3]

Idavai, *vi*, 448

Īdū-kōttam, *di*, 438

Iganaiyār, *vi*, 134

Iggālū, *vi*, 106n

Īkkāttu-kōttam, *di*, 342, 426

Ikshvāku, *mythical k*, [4], 384, 413

Ilaikkulam, *tax*, 311, 391, 437.

Ilaivallam, *vi*, 342

Ilayakō-Kiamavittan, *m*, 190

Ilayangudi, or Ilayānkudi, *vi.*, 117, and *add*, 206n

Ilayūru, *vi*, 118, 139

ilakkai or ilakkar, 212n

Îlakkâsu, *com*, 239, 241, 256, 258, 259.
 Îlakkuvanan Pañchanedi Âlumbân, *m.*, 78
 Îlakkuvanan (Lakshmana) Râmadêvan, *m.*, 77
 Îla lamp, 251
 Îlam or Îlamandalam, *s a* Ceylon, [7], [11],
 [18], 7, 15, 24, 28, 43, 44, 46, 56, 83, 107,
 205, 206, 218n, 244, 245, 255, 266, 267, 275,
 289, 292, 390, 438, 460, 474, 476, 477, 478
 Îlamaman Śnairiyalikkî, *m.*, 366.
 Îlampūtchi, *tax*, 311, 391
 Îlāmudēsam, *co*, [19], 469
 Îlanalam, *vi*, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 318, 319,
 322
 Îlandai, *tree*, 434
 Îlangai, *s a* Lankâ, 469, 470
 Îlangâsôkam or Lankâsôka, *vi*, [21], 469.
 Îlangilavar, *m.*, 91
 Îlangô or Îlaya-kô, *an heir apparent*, 142
 Îlangôvadiyariyan, *k*, 441n.
 Îlangôvêl, *s a* Irukkuvêl, 257
 Îlava, *a toddy drawer*, 437
 Îluppai-kalanî, *land*, 23, 24
 Îmayavaramban, *Chôla k*, 385n
 Indra, *god*, [18], 28, 385, 414, 415, 416, 417,
 425, 430, 442, 443, 444, 457, 459, 460, 464,
 468.
 Indram, *shrine of*, 137.
 Indran Palanattadigal, *m.*, 253
 Indraratha, *k*, [19], 388, 424, 469.
 Indiavajra, *metre*, 86, 450
 Ingallûr-nâdu, *di*, 106, 107
 Inga-nâdu, *di*, 114, 377, 427, 429.
 Inganûr, *vi*, 106n
 Inganûr, *vi*, 114
 Innambar, *vi*, 262
 Innambar-nâdu, *di*, 377
 irai, *tax*, 253, 327, 332, 333, 334, 337, 339, 342,
 344, 346, 348, 355
 irai-diavya, 4
 irai-karatt-ûttu, *revenues and taxes*, 57n.
 irakkâval, *tax*, 241, 248, 256
 Iraikulam, 245.
 Irayânkudi, *vi*, 293, 307
 Irayânsêri, *di*, 293
 Irâmagudam, *co.*, 52, 56
 Irândâyirattunânûruvan, *sur of Porrikkurî Kâ-*
ldêvadi, 17
 irandêri, *land*, 368
 Irâsadi Sôlai, *m.*, 244
 Irâsakkamangalam, *vi*, 159
 Irâsândan, *m.*, 475
 Irattamandalam, *see* Rattapâdi
 Irattapâdi or Irattapâdi, *see* Rattapâdi
 Irattapâdikonda-Sôlan, *Chôla prince*, 62
 Iratta, *s a* Chalukya, 68.
 Iravi Nîli, *see* Nîli
 Iravu, 289, 291, 292, 293.
 Îrâyirandêvi-Ammanâr, *consort of Râjâditya*, 278,
 279
 Îrâyuvan Pallavayan, *ch*, 14, 29, 30, 109, 111,
 427, 428
 Irâyûr, *vi*, 64, 73, 74, 81, 85, 177.
 Irâyûrâli-Nambi, *m.*, 151
 Irêchchayan, *ch.*, 37.
 Irivabedanga, *sur. of Satyâśraya*, [17]

Îrôdu, *see* Eiode
 Iugayan, *ch*, 32, 37
 Irukkuvêl, *ch*, 257.
 Iumadi or Iumadi, *explained*, [13]n, 329
 Iumadihechôla (sôli), *sur of Parântaka I*, [12],
 229
 Iumadihechôlar Kannâdaga (Karnâta), *co*,
 229, 230
 Iumadi Sôlan, *sur. of Gangaikonda-Sôlan*, 62
 Iumadisôla Vilupparaiyan, *sur of Vêlân Kâtian*,
 427, 429
 Iumudisôlachehên, *quarter*, 177
 Iumudisôla Muvêndavêlân, *sur of Paramêśvarian*
Arangan, 307
 Iungôlakkôn, *ch*, 376
 Iungôla, Iunkôla, Îlangôvêl or Irukkuvêl,
family, [15], 257, 258
 Iunûrmaibadinmai Aratturai, *m.*, 439.
 Iuvêli, *plant*, 392, 437.
 Îśa, *s a* Śiva, 258
 Îśakkanayya-Nangai, *f*, 242.
 Îśâna, *s a* Śiva, 236
 Îśânamangala, *vi*, 228, 229.
 Îśâna Mâian, *m.*, 263
 Îśânaśiva-Pandita, *m.*, 1.
 ishtâpûta, *charitable deed*, 3.
 Islands, Twelve thousand, 8
 Îśvarakkârani Vâmadêvan Tiruvenkâdan, *m.*, 227
 Îsvaian Śingamâni, *m.*, 202
 Îsvari, *shrine of*, 136, 139
 Îvuni, *vi*, 71
 Iyarpâ, *portion of Nâlâyîr oprabandham*, 186

J

Jagatipâla, *Ceylon k*, 53
 Jain or Jama, [6], [22], 14, 15, 22, 53, 223, 224,
 229, 230, 389
 Jalanâthêsvaia, *te*, 31, 343, 350
 jalapavitra, *ceremony*, 299, 301, 321
 jalayantia, *a water-lever*, 15n
 jambu, *tree*, 134n, 168, 171
 Jambudvîpa, *India*, [11], 134n, 446, 461n
 Jambukêsvaia, *te.*, [3], 122n, 126, 128, 163, 418n
 Janaka, *sage*, 62n
 Jananâtha or Nanâkkan Mâiayan Jananâthan,
ch, 389, 425, 426, 427, 428, 438
 Jananâtha, *Dhâra k*, 33, 37, 69
 Jananâtha-Kachechayan, *sur of Arâsanârâyana*
Elisamôgan, 210
 Jananâtha-peuvadi, *road*, 111
 Jananâthaputtên, *tank*, 432
 Jananâtha-valanâdu, *di*, 199, 200
 Jatâvarman, *sur of Śivallabha*, 465n
 Jatâvarman, *sur. of Sundara-Chôla-Pândya*,
 [17].
 Jatila, *m.*, 443, 459.
 Jatila or Jatilavarman, *s a* Parântaka Nedun-
 jadayyan, 441, 442, 443, 446, 447, 448, 456
 Jayabhîmatâli, *vi.*, 235
 Jayadhara, *sur of Kulôttunga I*, 131
 Jayamêru, *sur of Vikramâditya I*, 99, 103.
 Jayamêru-Srikaranamangalam, *sur of Mandiam*,
 103, 104.
 Jayamurînâdâlvâr, *ch*, 39
 Jayankonda-Chôla (Sôlan), *sur. of Râjâdhirâja I*,
 51, 57
 Jayankonda-Chôla-Brahmâdhirâja, *ch*, 59, 64,
 65, 70.

Jayankonda (or Jayangonda)-Chôla (Śôla)-mandalam, *di*, 2, 8, 16, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28, 49, 57, 63, 70, 74, 76, 78, 81, 83, 84, 85, 86, 88, 89, 108, 111, 113, 114, 118, 119, 120, 134, 136, 137n, 138, 140, 142, 148, 164, 167, 173, 176, 189, 198, 204, 389, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 437, 438
 Jayankondasôlanallû, *vi*, 38, 39, 41, 43
 Jayankondasôla-Viluppaiyay, *sur of Kâdan Vidiyidangan*, 38, 39
 Jayantavaiman, *Pândya k*, 446, 447, 464
 Jayasimha II, *W. Châlukya k*, [16], [17], 28, 388, 423, 424, 468
 Jayasimha III, *W. Châlukya k*, 28, 32, 58, 118, 130, 144, 193, 194, 388, 423, 424, 466
 Jayasimhakulakâla-valanâdu, *di*, 171.
 Jayasimhakulântaka-Brahmamâlayar, *sur of Mañjappayanâr*, 65, 70.
 Jayasimha Virakêlalavaiman, *Kêrala k*, 206n.
 Jayasingan, *sa Jayasimha III*, 63.
 Jayastambha, 69n
 Jayatunga Mûvendavêlân, *sur. of Êran Îsvaraṇ Girisêkharan*, 118
 jivita, 70
 Jñānaparamêśvara, *te*, 222.
 Jyêshthâ, *goddess*, 346, 347.

K

Kachchi, *or Kachchippêdu, sa Conjeeveiram*, 11, 12, 96, 97, 186n, 187, 206, 218, 265, 266, 267, 268, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 288, 291, 428, 429.
 Kachchiram, *or Kachchiram, vi*, 428, 429, 438
 Kâdâdi-kundil, *land*, 274
 Kadagan, *m*, 143
 kadaikâtchi, *supervision*, 372.
 kadai-nîr, *last water*, 288
 kadaiyadaikkây, *tua*, 391
 Kadalangudi, *vi*, 427, 429
 kâdalai, *son or friend*, 62n
 kâdali, *wife or daughter*, 56n
 kadai sūlnda, *introductory words of the inscriptions of Rājādhirāja II*, 206, 207
 kâdam, = 10 miles, 13, 225, 357, 362, 365
 Kadamb, *family*, [6]
 Kadambamâdêvi, *f*, 221
 Kadambankuli, *pit*, 431
 Kadambarkôyil, *vi*, 192
 kadambu, *tree*, 430
 Kadambû, 307
 Kâdan Âchchan, *m*, 383
 Kâdan Karunâkarian, *m*, 427, 429
 Kâdan Vidiyidangan, *m*, 38
 Kadappêri, *vi*, 79, 126, 174
 Kâdâiam, *sa Katâha*, [21], 62n, 194, 195, 203, 465, 469.
 Kâdâram, *vi*, 194
 Kâdârankonda-Śôlan, *Chôla prince*, 62.
 Kâdava, *sa Pallava*, 68, 185n, 446
 Kadavâyechchêri (Kadavâchchêri), *vi*, 210, 212, 214, 216
 kâdi, *grain measure*, 8, 9, 13, 94, 266, 273, 274, 291, 292, 293, 362, 363, 366, 367.
 Kadichechan, *m*, 143
 kadigai, *an assembly*, 92n.
 Kâdugâl, *village goddess*, 234, 320, 321, 322.
 Kaduguvâi, *field*, 309.

Kadunganaiyan, *m*, 362.
 Kadungôn, *Pândya k*, [5], [7]n, 441, 446.
 Kâdupattigal Nandippôttaraiyar, *sa Nandivarman Pallavamalla*, 260, 261
 Kâdupatti Tamila-Pêrarayan *or Vidêlvidugu Kâdupatti Tamila-Pêrarayan, m*, 92, 93, 94.
 Kaduttalai, *vi*, 229, 230
 Kaduttalai Nâgamaiyan, *m*, 251.
 Kaduvangudi, *vi*, 4
 Kâduveti, *m*, 217
 Kaikkôla, *sert*, 276
 Kailâsa, *mo.*, 419, 423.
 Kailâsanâtha *or Kailâsanâthasvâmin, te*, [7], 49.
 kai-manî, *hand-bells*, 273, 319
 kâisu, *see, kâsu*
 Kâkkambûâl, *vi*, 81
 Kakshivat, *mythical k*, 384, 414.
 Kâkutstha, *sur of Purañjaya*, 384, 414
 kâl, *a measure*, 342, 363
 Kâla the god of Death, 386, 423
 Kalabhra, *people*, [5], [7]n, 446
 Kâlahasti, *Kâlatti or Tirukkâlatti, vi*, [9], 33n, 106n, 190n, 208n, 289
 kalal, *foot-ornament*, 467.
 kâl-alavu-kûl, *toll*, 162, 266, 268, 272, 273
 kâlam, *a trumpet*, 319
 kalam, *grain measure*, 8, 38, 117, 118, 136, 137n, 139, 162, 171, 186, 189, 190, 229, 241, 286, 301, 306, 307, 308, 311, 312, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 379, 381, 390, 427, 428, 445, 470, 471, 472
 Kâlan, *m*, 295
 kalani-vâniya (or vâniya), *field supervision committee*, 231, 232, 327, 329
 Kalanivâyil, *vi.*, 6, 293.
 kalañju, *gold and silver weight, (= 80 grains)*, 2, 3, 11, 12, 18, 22, 29, 30, 38, 45, 46, 51, 87, 88, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 100, 101, 111, 113, 114, 143, 163, 164, 177, 189, 226n, 227, 228, 229, 230, 232, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 245, 250, 256, 261, 262, 263, 264, 266, 267, 273, 274, 275, 278, 279, 287, 291, 292, 293, 295, 297, 300, 311, 312, 324, 327, 334, 342, 344, 346, 348, 349, 352, 354, 356, 357, 358, 362, 363, 366, 367, 370, 371, 373, 374, 390, 427, 428, 474, 475, 476, 477
 Kalappâlarijar (or iayan), *m*, 213, 217
 Kalanikunchechi, *vi*, 286
 Kalaru, 480.
 Kalaiungal, *land*, 77
 kalâsa, *a pot*, 189
 Kalatti *see Kâlahasti*
 Kalâtirukkan, *vi*, 462
 Kalattûr, *vi*, 143
 Kalattûr-kôttam, *di*, 143, 148, 167, 173, 176, 204.
 Kalattû-nâdu, *di*, 143, 148, 167.
 Kalavai, *vi*, 118, 119
 Kalavali, *Tamil poem*, [2], 386
 Kalavali-nâdu, *di*, 444, 450, 462
 Kâlaya-Sômâsi-bhûmi, *land*, 330
 Kâlavyavana, *demon*, 385, 415.
 Kalêsi, *vi*, 251
 Kalî, *age*, [4], [15], 36, 55, 61, 81, 142, 146, 176, 184, 188, 191, 193, 200, 201, 203, 218, 386, 418, 419, 420, 421, 423, 425, 446, 464
 Kâlî, *Pachchaikkâlî or Pavalakkâlî, goddess*, 418n.
 Kâlî Êkâmbaram, *m*, 438

- Kalichchangāl, *ehannel*, 51
 Kalgai-Vitanka, *image of*, 366, 367.
 Kalikēsai - chaturvēdimangalam, *sur. of* Tirumullaivāyil, 351
 Kāli Nangai, *f.*, 352
 Kalinga (Kalingam) or Kalinga-mandalam, *co.*, [2], [3], [20], 7, 9, 11, 15, 24, 59, 63, 65, 70, 105, 107, 126n, 130, 156, 158, 179, 180, 182, 184, 186, 188, 193, 388, 422, 461
 Kalinganagara, *s a* Mukhalingam, [22], 128, 130.
 Kālingarāyar, *sur. of* Arayan Garudavāhan, 148, 151
 Kalingas, the Seven, 180n.
 Kalingattupparani, *Tamil poem*, [3], 32, 52, 113, 125, 127, 128n, 129, 130, 131, 132, 144n, 152, 156, 178, 180, 181, 191, 413n, 415n, 416n, 417n, 418n
 Kalingu-vāriyam, *committee*, 327, 329
 Kalippagai, *sur. of* Parāntaka Neḍuñjadaiyan, 446.
 Kāliya-Bhattar, *m*, 368.
 Kāliyanēri, *sur of* Ūrudaiyānkulam, 239, 241.
 Kāliyūr-kōttam, *di*, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 11, 12, 16, 18, 19, 21, 137n, 138, 142, 323, 324, 325, 327, 332, 334, 335, 338, 340, 341, 344, 345, 346, 348, 349, 350, 355, 359, 361, 369, 372.
 Kāliyūr-nādu, *di*, 142
 Kallan, *trite*, 268
 Kall Kuttēran, *m*, 28
 Kallōdanai, *dam*, 477, 480.
 kallūri, *a college*, 15
 Kalpa or Kalpaka, *tree*, 185, 233n, 456, 464
 Kalpa, *age*, 446, 456
 Kalpa, *work*, 458
 Kalugumalai, *vi*, 448
 Kalukkunram, *see* Tirukkalukkuniam.
 Kalumalam, *vi*, [2], 386
 Kalubarudaiyāi, *m*, 17
 kaluval, *field*, 226, 365
 Kalvai - Kalvan, *sur of* Perumbidugu Muttaraiyan I, [7]
 Kalyāna, *vi*, 130
 Kalyānapuram, *vi*, 191
 Kalyānasundara, *god*, 89, 118
 Kāma, *Cupid*, 161n, 218n, 419.
 Kāmadamangalam, *vi*, 438.
 Kāmakkavaiyal, *f*, 59, 64
 Kāmakkōdi, *vi*, 318, 319
 Kāmakkōdi-Vinnagai, *s. a.* Rājagōpāla-Perumāl, 49, 57, 63, 70
 Kamalāvatī, *queen of* Śubhadēva, 386
 Kāmāmōga-Vāranappēraraiyan, *sur of* Mannan Kannan, 374, 375
 Kāmaniyakkanār, *f*, 242
 Kambulānpādi *quarter of* Conjeeveram, 266, 267, 273, 274
 Kampa, *Vijayanagara k*, 8
 Kampavarman or Vijaya-Kampavikramavarman, *Ganga-Pallava k*, 1, 2, 8, 9, 13, 90, 172, 266, 267, 273
 Kampli or Kampili, *vi*, 52, 53, 57, 193, 194, 195, 201
 Kamsabappāti, *s. a.* Kañjagappādi, 265, 267, 272.
 Kamuduvan Nilanārāyanan, *m*, 281.
 Kamugadi, *field*, 122.
 Kanaikkāl Irumporai, *Chēra k.*, [2]
 Kanakarāyar, *m*, 473.
 Kanakasabhā, *the golden hall*, 185n
 Kanakavīrakurattiyār, *f.*, 224, 225.
 kanakku or kanakkar, *office*, 289, 444.
 Kanakku-vāriyam, *Committee*, 327, 329.
 kāmam, *gold coin*, 13, 20, 189, 239, 253, 262.
 kāmam, *share*, 51, 92.
 Kanau, *co*, [20], 53, 194.
 Kanavadi, *m*, 330n
 Kanavadi (Ganapati), *k*, 57
 Kanavadinallū, *vi*, 31, 39, 41, 477, 479
 Kanavadi Pichchan, *m*, 118.
 Kāñchī or Kāñchīpura, *s a* Conjeeveram, [4], [7], [12], [22], 2n, 11, 71, 96, 114, 117, 118, 122, 123, 129, 130, 131, 141, 143, 159, 162, 163, 164, 193n, 272n, 347, 348, 349, 359, 360, 386, 388, 392, 418, 423, 439
 Kāñchivāyil, *vi*, 427, 428, 438.
 Kāñchivāyppērūr, *s a* Pērūr, 446.
 Kāndai (Karandai?), *vi*, 64, 69
 Kāndādi Ponnaiyakiamavitta Sōmāsiyāi Am-balattadigal, *m.*, 348.
 Kāndādi Tiruvēnkādbhattan, *m*, 427, 428.
 Kāndalēri, *sur.*, of Śūlai-kulam, 477, 479, 480
 Kāndalūr-Śālai, *see* Śālai
 kandan, *a division*, 257, 260, 297
 Kāndāna-nādu, *di*, 428, 429, 438
 Kandanīranindān, *m*, 117
 Kandan Maravan, *m*, 30
 Kandapurattupēttai, *vi*, 326, 327, 332, 336, 337, 339
 Kandarādittam, *vi*, 387n
 Kandiyū, or Tirukkandiyū, *vi*, [12], 281, 282, 466
 Kanganēri, *tank*, 435.
 Kanganērippattu *see* Ganganērippattu
 kāni, *land*, 88, 176, 291, 292, 293.
 kāni, *land measure*, 234, 257, 260, 281, 300, 355, 368
 kanimurrūttu, 289, 291, 389, 427
 Kañjagappādi, *quarter of* Conjeeveram, 266, 267, 274, 275
 Kāñjan Kondayan, *m*, 438
 Kāñjanūr, *vi*, 284.
 kangānivarippottagam, *office*, 312.
 kanmālar, *artisans*, 46, 47
 kanmi, 28, 136, 138, 151, 286
 Kannādaga-Pandita, *m*, 1-8.
 Kannada, *people*, 185
 kannādu or kalnādu, *a hero-stone*, 477, 478, 479.
 Kannagidarapāni Mūvēndavēlān, *sur of* Kūttan Sōmadēvan, 158
 Kannakkāl, *channel*, 108.
 Kannakuchchi, *s a* Kanyakubja, [20], 56, 202.
 kannālakkānam, *tax*, 311, 391
 Kannan Āṭṭian, *m*, 6, 8
 Kannandai Kuppan, *m.*, 85
 Kannappan Pañchanēdi Nilagangaraiyar, *m.*, 84.
 Kannappan Tūsi Ādināyagan Nilagangaraiyan Vanniyanāyan, *see*, Vanniyanāyan.
 Kannapushpam, 475
 Kannara, *co*, 195, 203.
 Kannaradēva or Kannaradēva, *s a.* Kṛṣṇa III, [12], 11, 12, 21n, 56
 kannāru or kanāru, 73, 75, 78, 81, 83, 154, 155, 177, 212, 213, 216, 249, 280, 281, 324, 325, 326, 327, 332, 333, 334, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 344, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 353, 355, 360, 361, 370, 371

Kanni, *s. a.* Comorin, 68n, 147.
 Kanniya, *s. a.* Pândya, 68
 Kannikkâl, *channel*, 83
 Kanperrân, *m.*, 472.
 Kanperân Manruuraindâi, *m.*, 473
 kanthikâ, *a necklace*, 65, 69
 Kanyâ, Kanyâkumâri *or* Kumari, *s. a.* Comorin,
 [4], [7], [8], [10], [12], [18], [20], [21], 22,
 111, 466
 Kanyakubja, *s. a.* Kanauj, 52, 53, 56, 59, 194,
 202
 kâr, 171.
 Karabhadra, *elephant*, 63.
 karadigai, *a musical instrument*, 273, 285, 319
 Karadikal, *or* Karadikallu, *vi.*, 194, 201.
 Kârai, *vi.*, 95
 kârai, *land*, 64
 kârai, *ornament* 476, 477.
 Kârai, *tree*, 434
 Kâraikkâttu Panaiyû, 300, 311
 Kâraikkâl Ammai *or* Ammai, *Saiva devotee*, 384
 Kârai-nâdu, *di.*, 89, 95, 96, 104
 Kâraippâkkam, *vi.*, 391, 433
 Kâraitturai, 31, 48.
 Karaivali, *di.*, 89, 105, 108, 113, 114, 119, 120
 Karaivali-Ândi-nâdu, *di.*, 89
 Kârâmbichchettu, (Kârâmbisettu), *vi.*, 64, 73, 83,
 168
 Kâianai-Vidangadêva, *image of*, 134
 kaianattân, *an accountant*, 2, 22, 24, 392, 437,
 438
 Karandai, *see* Kândai
 Karanikas, 277
 kârânmai, 307, 308, 311, 459, 462
 Karavandapuram, *vi.*, 446.
 Karavûr, *vi.*, 438.
 karây, 250
 Kârâyil Eduttapâdam, *ch.*, 14
 Karhâd, *vi.*, 22
 Kârî, *m.*, 151n
 Karikal, *vi.*, 45n
 Karikâla, *or* Kalikâla *Chôla k.*, [2], [3], [4], [5],
 [7], 62n, 268, 274, 386, 418
 Karikâla, *sur of* Âditya II., [9], [14], [15],
 [16], 21, 249, 262, 263, 278, 279, 289, 356,
 375, 377, 379, 387
 Karikâla-Chôla, *sur of* Kulôttunga I., 130
 Karikâla-Chôla (Śôla), *sur of* Virarâjendia, 195,
 199
 Karikâla-Chôla-Adaiyûrnâd-Âlvân, *sur of* Malay-
 an Vinaiyaivenrân, 208
 Karikâla kârai, *embankment*, 249, 250
 Karikâla-Śôlan, *sur of* Vîra-Chôla (Śôlan), 62
 Karikâla-terri, *hall*, [5], 266, 268, 274.
 Karikkal, *vi.*, 45n
 Kârî Kolamban, *m.*, 276
 Kârikudi, *vi.*, 438
 Kârmangalam-Udaiyân, *m.*, 232
 karini(karani)bhramana, 389, 390, 426.
 Kausângâl, *vi.*, 51n.
 Karkudi *or* Tirukkarkudi, *s. a.* Uyyakkandân
 Tirumalai, 230, 231, 375, 376
 Karkulam, *vi.*, 462.
 Kaikuli, *pit*, 432.
 Karnaprâvrtas, *s. a.* Tollaikkâdar, 268.
 Karnâtake, *co.*, 229.
 Kârôhana, *vi.*, 27
 Karpûndi-nâdu, *di.*, 228
 Karrai, *see* Nârâyanan Karrai.

Karali-êri, *tank*, 477, 479.
 Karugai, *vi.*, 151n
 Karugâvûi *or* Tirukkarugâvûr, *s. a.* Tirukkalâvûr,
 233, 234, 235, 245, 259, 260.
 Karumâligai, *palace*, 428
 Karumam-ârâyum, *councillors*, 301, 307, 390,
 427
 Karumân, *a blacksmith*, 106
 Karumânikradêva, *god*, 89, 118.
 Karumânikkan Śârpan, *m.*, 428, 429.
 Karumânikkan Śôman, *m.*, 118
 Karunâkara-Bhattan, *m.*, 81
 Karunâtakan, *title of* Śadaiyan Nanadhîra, 446.
 Karungâli, *tank*, 104
 karuvêl, *tree*, 432
 Karuvulânpatî, *s. a.* Kambulânpatî, 265, 267, 272.
 Karuvûr, *vi.*, 30, 31, 33, 38, 39, 43, 44, 45, 46,
 48, 64, 192, 193, 205, 473, 474, 475.
 Karuvûr, *s. a.* Tiruvañjaikkalam, 31.
 Kâsâkudi, *vi.*, 391
 kâsthakâra, *a carpenter*, 321n
 Kâsrâja, *mythical k.*, 385, 415
 Kassapa V, *Ceylon k.*, [11], 231
 kâsu *or* kaisu, *weight*, 189
 kâsu, *corn or money*, 53, 57, 84, 85, 109, 111,
 114, 117, 132, 134, 136, 139, 148, 151, 152,
 155, 162, 164, 167, 171, 201n, 222, 223, 239n,
 241, 248, 259, 260, 284, 300, 322, 476, 477.
 kâsu-kal, *goldweight*, 46.
 Kâsyapa, *sage*, 413n
 Kâsyapan Kârâyil Midaichehan, *m.*, 471.
 Katâha, *co.*, [21], 388, 425
 kâttâgara, *a wooden house*, 321
 Kattêmanuganahalli, *vi.*, 130
 Kattinâgankuval-ittêr, *bye-path*, 477, 479.
 Katti Oruûran, *sur of* Tennavan Pirudimârâsan,
 249, 250
 Kâttugai Nârâyana-Kramavittan, *m.*, 177.
 Kâttukkumundûr, *vi.*, 391, 432.
 Kâttukkuri, *vi.*, 113
 Kâttûr, *vi.*, 364, 365
 Kaustubha, *gem*, 460.
 Kauskan Venkâdabhattan, *m.*, 471
 Kausikan Âdittan Âdavallân, *m.*, 471.
 Kausalai, *people of* Kôsala 57
 Kâvadippâkkam, *s. a.* Kâvêrippâkkam, 232.
 Kâvantandalam, *vi.*, 125, 128, 172
 Kâvanûr, *vi.*, 346, 347
 Kâvanûi-êri, *tank*, 360
 Kavaîâmoli, *measure*, 367
 Kavêrakaryakâ, *s. a.* Kâvêri, 385, 417
 Kâvêri, *vi.*, [2], [3], [4], [8], 4, 6, 8, 30, 45,
 129, 132, 140, 42, 155n, 171, 182n, 197, 223,
 231, 233, 234, 242, 247n, 248, 256, 257, 258,
 259, 262, 276, 278, 280, 301, 320, 376, 385,
 386, 387, 417, 418, 425n, 444, 446, 450, 461.
 Kâvêrmangala, *vi.*, 330n
 Kâvêrippâkkam *or* Kâvîrippâkkam, *vi.*, 95, 96,
 327, 329
 Kaviniyan Purambiyan, *m.*, 284.
 Kavira-nâdu, *vi.*, 286.
 Kâvinî, *s. a.* Kâvêri, 446.
 Kâvîrippûmpattinam, *vi.*, [2], [3]
 kây, *areca-nut*, 233.
 Kayakkâl, *channel*, 111.
 Kayarpâkkam, *vi.*, 391, 435, 436.
 kâykkari, 382.
 Kayilâyadêvan, *flower-garden of*, 215.

Kāyvantandalam, *s a* Kāvāntandalam, 172, 173
 Kēkaya, *co.*, 415n.
 Kēlalar, *explained*, 172n
 Kērala, *co.*, [12], [13], [17], [19], 28, 33, 37, 64, 68, 128, 193, 235, 388, 390, 423, 430, 442, 446, 457, 468
 Kēralan, *m.*, 44
 Kēralānataka-ohatuvēdimangalam, *vi.*, 427, 428, 438.
 Kēralāntaka-Pallavarayan, *ch.*, 162.
 Kēralāntaka-valanādu, *di.*, 31.
 Kēralapalli, *vi.*, 31, 43, 44
 Keralaputta, *s a* Chēra, [1]
 Kēralaiājan, *sur. of* Tiruvēgambamudaiyān-Tiru-
 vanantisvaram-udaiyān, 210, 212, 213.
 Kēsava-Bhattan, *m.*, 74, 83
 Kēsavadandanāyaka, *s a* Kēsavādityadēva, 32, 37.
 Kēsavādityadēva, *ch.*, 33
 Kēsavan, *m.*, 284
 Kēsavan-Pēiāyiramudaiyān, *m.*, 76.
 Kēsavan Rāman, *m.*, 254
 Kēsi, *ch.*, 69
 Kēsuvaian, *m.*, 350
 Kēsuvan (Kēsava) Arivaiyān, *m.*, 151
 Kēsuvan (Kēsava) Tanu-Ilaūjungam, *m.*, 151
 Kēsupapattan (Kēsava-Bhatta), *m.*, 73
 Kēttaraśan, *ch.*, 37
 Kēvudan, *ch.*, 52, 56
 Kharagin, *vi.*, 443, 444, 446, 450, 457, 461.
 kīl, = $\frac{1}{36}$, ($\frac{1}{36}$)², etc., 213n.
 Kīladakuvilai, *land*, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 321
 Kīlai-ēri, *tank*, 365
 Kīlai-vēlam, *quarter*, 378
 Kīlaiyū, *vi.*, 199n
 Kīlānadigal or Kōkkīlānadigal, *Chōla queen*, [12]
 Kīlappaluvū, Paluvū, or Śnupaluvū, *vi.*, 125, 152, 154, 155, 164n
 Kīlāi-kūiram, *di.*, 450
 kīlavan, *a headman*, 291, 293, 308
 Kīlēipattu, *land*, 287
 kīlmai, *tax*, 253
 Kīl-Ianiyamuttan, *di.*, 241
 Kīlyū-nādu, *co.*, 285
 Kīl-Kariyūr-nādu, *di.*, 426
 Kīlivalavan, *Chōla k.*, [3], [4]n.
 Kīlmalai, *vi.*, 254
 Kīlmāndui Paruvū, *sur. of* Tappildaiam Palla-
 varayan, 246, 247, 248
 Kīl-Māngāttu-nādu, *di.*, 83
 kīlmugavetti, *office*, 390, 428, 429, 438
 Kīl-Muttugū, *m.*, [6], 90
 Kīlūr, *s a* Kīlaiyūr, 193, 199.
 kīlvali, 224n, 225, 226
 Kīvēmba-nādu, *di.*, 443, 444, 450, 459, 462
 Kīl-Vēngai-nādu, *di.*, 212
 Kīraikkallūr, *vi.*, 307
 Kīrainallūr, *vi.*, 287, 391, 432.
 Kīrappākkam (Kīrappākkam), *vi.*, 165, 167
 Kūāñi, *vi.*, 168
 Kīrttimaraiikkādan, *m.*, 378, 379
 Kīrttimārttānda-Brahmādhirājar, *sur. of* Vikra-
 māditāp, 104.

Kittisumēgha, *Ceylon k.*, 59
 Kōchchākkārpuram, *vi.*, 39
 Kōchchengannān, *Chōla k.*, [2], [3], [4], 386, 418.
 Kōchchengatchōla-Nāyanār, *s a* Kōchhengan-
 nān, 386
 Kōdachcheruvu, *field*, 114
 Kōdanda or Kōdandaāma, *sur. of* Rājāditya, [8],
 [13], [16], 234, 237, 238, 248
 Kōdandaāma, *sur. of* Āditya I, [8], 238.
 Kōdandaāma-vadi, *road*, 248, 249, 279, 280.
 Kōdandarāmēśvara, *te*, [9], 237, 238
 Kodimangalam, *vi.*, 212n
 Kōdukulavan Śāttan, *m.*, 292, 307, 312
 Kodumādi, *field*, 226
 Kodumbai, *s a* Kodumbālūr, 444, 446, 449, 450, 461
 Kodumbālūr, *vi.*, [14], 230, 231, 249, 255, 256, 257, 285, 446, 449, 450, 476
 Kodumudi, Pāndikkodumudi or Tiruppāndik-
 kodumudi *vi.*, 31
 Kodungai, *vi.*, 308
 Koetel, *vi.*, [7]
 Kōkkandan, *title*, 221n, 222, 235
 kokkuvāy, *hook of an ornament*, 475
 Kokuni, *sur. of* Śivamahārāja-Perumānadigal, 98.
 Kōlāi, *vi.*, 99, 122, 125, 128, 132, 136, 138n
 Kōlāramma, *te*, 136.
 Kolattūr, *vi.*, 50
 Kōla-vadi, *path*, 347
 kolgai, *ornament*, 297.
 Kōh, *s a* Uraiyr, 62, 446.
 Kollam (Quilon), *vi.*, 7, 11, 15, 24, 105, 107.
 Kollāpuram, *vi.*, 111, 112, 191
 Kollimalavan, *sur. of* Malavarayan Sundarāśōlan,
 476, 477, 479, 480
 Kollippākkai or Kollipāke, *s a* Kulpak, [16],
 28, 52, 56, 390, 430, 468
 kōlnirakūh, *tax*, 266, 268, 272, 273.
 Kolukkuttu, 108
 kolundi, *wife's younger sister*, 473
 Kōlūr, *vi.*, 118
 Koluvūr-kūriam, *di.*, 444, 450, 462.
 kombirkolgai, *jewel*, 297.
 Kōmulān Arayan Baladēvan, *m.*, 16.
 kōn, *a chief*, 163
 Kondala, *see* Kuntala
 Kondyāta, *vi.*, 165
 Kōnērīmaikkondān, Kōnērmaikkondān, Kōnērī-
 maikkondān, Kōnērī(Kōnīrī)mēlkkondān, Kō-
 nērīmēlkkondān, Kōnērī-inmai-kondān or
 Kōnōnmaikkondān *title*, 44, 46, 47, 48, 122,
 199, 426, 427.
 Kōnērīmēlkkondān, *sur. of* Vīra-Chōla, 122n.
 Kōnērīmēlkkondān, *sur. of* Kulōttunga-Chōla III,
 122n, 205, 208.
 Kōnērīnangai, *goddess*, 349, 350.
 Kōnērīrājapuram, *vi.*, 296.
 Kōnērīyār, *m.*, 274
 Kongana or Konkana, *co.*, 57, 129, 162, 185
 Kongarayar, *m.*, 370, 371, 372
 Kongarkōn, *sur. of* Parāntaka Nedunjadaiyan,
 446
 Kongu, Kongu-dēsa or Kongu (or Konga)-ma-
 ndalam, *co.*, [8], [9], 31, 44, 47, 185, 444, 446,
 450, 461.
 Kongudēsārājakkal, *work*, [9n].
 Konguni or Konguvarman, *title of* W. Ganga
 kings, 98n, 99, 100, 101, 105, 108.

- Konkana, *see* Kongana.
 Kōnōn-inmaikondān, *sur. of* Uttama-Chōla, 288, 289, 291.
 Kōnōn-inmai-kondān kuśalī, 291n
 Konrū, *vi*, 358
 Kōnūr, *vi*, 307, 428, 429, 438.
 Kōn-Vēlān, *m*, 443, 459, 462.
 Koppākēsai, *see* Kō-Parakēsai, 33n.
 Koppam, *vi*, 32, 39, 40, 41, 53, 58, 63, 68n, 111, 112, 197.
 Kōraikkulī, 288
 Kōrañji, *vi*, 70
 Korramangalam, *vi*, 159
 Korran Arunmoli, *m*, 263, 264
 Korrangudi, *vi*, 245, 308, 309, 310.
 Korrangudi-vāykkāl, *channel*, 319
 Korranputtūr, *vi*, 445, 450, 465.
 korru *or* kottu, *maintenance*, 212n, 306, 379
 Kōsala, Kōsala *or* Kōsala-nādu *co.*, [19], 37, 57, 469
 Kotpūr, *vi*, 308
 kottagam *or* gōsthaka, *a cow-pen*, 436n.
 Kottaiyūr, *vi*, 438
 kōttam, *a division*, 3, 96, 292, 357, 374.
 kotta-nāl, *the day of gift*, 232
 Kōttāru, *vi*, 130, 144, 147, 159, 162
 Kōttārpōlil *or* Kōttārpōlil, 450, 462.
 kōtti, *see* gōsthā
 Kōttū, *vi*, 253.
 Kōttūr-nādu, *di*, 251.
 Kōval *or* Kōvalūr, *s.a.* Tirukoilur, 209n.
 Kōviladi, *vi*, 179.
 Kōvil (or Kōyil)-vānyam, *committee of*, 301, 320
 kōyil, *temple or palace*, 272n
 kōyil, *a monastery*, 225
 Kōyilānpatti, *field*, 288
 Kōyil Mayilai, *m*, 307.
 kōyil-nambu, *temple worship*, 269
 Kōyinallūr, *m*, 239
 Krishna, *god*, 49, 84n, 151n, 164n, 190n, 278, 279, 324, 336, 439
 Krishna (Kannaran), *m*, 53, 56, 439.
 Krishnā, *vi*, [17], 32, 65, 466.
 Krishna II *or* Krishnarāja, *Rāshtrakūta k.*, 92.
 Krishna III *or* Krishnarāja, *Rāshtrakūta, k* [12], 1, 11, 22, 278, 386, 419
 Krishnan Rājādittan, *m*, 293
 Krishnan Rāman, *ch.*, 14, 427, 428
 Krishnarāja, *Vijayanagara k.*, 106, 418n
 Krishnasvāmin, *te*, 49
 Krita, *age*, 385, 415
 Kritchārḍhanam (Kritikārḍhanam), *ceremony*, 189
 Kriyākramadyōtikā, *work*, 382.
 Kshatra *or* Kshatriya, *race*, [1], 269n, 422
 Kshatryāsikhāman-valanādu, *di*, 38, 39, 41, 43, 117, 428, 429, 438
 Kshētrāpādēva, *shrine of*, 137
 Kubēra *or* Kuvēra, *god*, 28, 386, 418, 419, 423
 Kūdal, *s.a.* Madura, 206, 209n, 215, 446.
 Kūdal *or* Kūdalūr, *s.a.* Cuddalore, 209, 210.
 Kūdal, *s.a.* Kūdalāṅgam, 64, 69, 209n.
 Kūdalī, *vi*, 32
 Kūdalāṅgam, *vi*, 32, 37, 64, 68n, 190, 193, 194, 195, 197, 198, 200, 201, 209n.
 kūdam, *a hall*, 367
 Kudamalai-nādu, *di*, 7, 11, 15, 24, 29, 30, 105, 107, 130, 144, 147.
 Kudamūkkil, *s.a.* Kumbhakōnam, 444, 446, 449, 450, 461.
 kudimai, *right*, 226, 322
 Kudikāval, *a warden*, 443, 459.
 Kudikāvalnāyakan *the chief revenue officer*, 444, 462.
 kudiñai (or kudinar)-kal, *stone-weight*, 143, 164, 473, 474.
 kudmikki, *freeing from tenancy rights*, 381
 Kudittāngi Aravanaiyān, *m.*, 438.
 Kudiyān Kādugāl, *f*, 234.
 kudubaka, *measure*, 265, 272
 Kudumbidupādagam, *vi*, 51
 kudumbuvāriga - Peumakkal, *wards committee*, 231, 232.
 Kudumiyāmalai, *vi*, 234.
 kuduppōlai, *a deed of gift*, 12n
 Kukkanūr, *vi*, 25, 26, 114, 117.
 Kulam *or* Kolanu, *s.a.* Ellore, 172n, 180, 182, 184
 kūlam, *s.a.* ilaikkūlam, 391
 Kūlambandal, *vi*, 1
 Kulamulān, *or* Kōmulān, 118
 Kulānūr, *s.a.* Kolanu, 172
 Kūlapādi, *vi*, 391, 430, 436.
 Kulasēkhara, *Pāndya k*, 206, 465n
 Kulasēkhara, *Vaishnava Saṁt*, 2n, 148, 186
 Kulattūr, *s.a.* Kolattur, 50, 51, 75.
 Kuḷavampandal, *land*, 277
 Kulavilāgam, *land*, 319
 kūlī, *market fee*, 223
 kulī, *land measure*, 4, 5, 6, 12, 15, 17, 23, 24, 29, 30, 50, 51, 53, 57, 58, 65, 70, 71, 73, 75, 77, 78, 81, 82, 83, 97, 101, 103, 104, 106, 107, 109, 111, 113, 143, 288, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 329, 330, 332, 333, 334, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 344, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 353, 355, 357, 358, 360, 365n, 368, 369, 370, 371, 375
 Kūlvānyān-ēṇi, *tank*, 435
 Kulōttunga I, Kulōttunga-Chōla (Chōladēva *or* Śōladēva) *or* Kulōttungadēva, *Chōla k*, [3], [19], [20], [21], 2n, 32, 33, 43, 49, 71, 72, 74, 76n, 89, 113, 115, 118, 119, 120, 125, 123n, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 140, 142, 144, 146, 147, 148, 151, 152, 154, 156, 158, 159, 162, 163, 164, 167, 168, 171, 174, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 185n, 187, 190, 191, 192, 196, 197, 466, 470, 471, 472, 473
 Kulōttunga II *or* Kulōttunga-Chōla (Śōla, Chōladēva, Śōladēva *or* Chōda), *Chōla k*, 43, 49, 77, 78, 79, 125, 179, 180, 181, 196.
 Kulōttunga III *or* Kulōttunga-Chōla (Chōladēva *or* Śōladēva), *Chōla k*, 30, 31, 33n, 43, 44, 45, 46, 49, 79, 82, 83, 84, 85, 89, 121, 122, 123, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 212, 214, 215, 217, 219, 337, 465n, 473, 474, 475.
 Kulōttungasōla-Brahmārāyan, *sur. of* Uttama-Śōlan, 43
 Kulōttunga-Śōla-Kēralarājan, *sur. of* Arāyan Madurāntakan, 162
 Kulōttunga-Śōla-Māpōdiyarāyan, *sur. of* Dēvan-dainādan Arulālan, 168
 Kulōttunga-Śōla-Nānjinād-Udaiyān, *sur. of* Rājārājan, 163
 Kulōttungasōlan-Kalattūr, *vi*, 205n.

Kulöttunga-Śōlan-Periyarayan, *sur of Śēlvan Palumadaiyan*, 148
 Kulöttungasōlan-Ulā, *Tamil poem*, 180, 181
 Kulöttungasōla (or Ohōla)-valanādu, *sur. of Puliyūr-kōttam*, 49, 73, 74, 76, 78, 81, 83, 85, 86, 88.
 Kulöttungasōla-Viraināttu-Mūvëndavēlān, *sur. of Namban Maduāntakadēvan*, 158.
 Kulpak, *vi*, 390.
 Kulumbū, *vi.*, 446, 448
 Kulūta, *co*, 20, 388n.
 Kumān, *see* Nakkankumān,
 Kumānpādi, *vi*, 345, 346, 347, 349, 350.
 Kumāna, *s. a.* Skanda, 461.
 Kumādi-Nangai *f*, 361, 367
 kumaiakachchānam or kumāia-gadyānaka, *tax*, 117, 162
 Kumāia-Kiamavittan, *m.*, 247.
 Kumaramāitāndan, *lamp*, 260, 261
 Kumāiamāitāndan, *sur of Nandippōttaraiyar*, 223, 260n.
 Kumaramārtāndapuram, *vi*, 223, 224.
 Kumāianpuli, *tree*, 435
 Kumāian, *m*, 350
 Kumaran Śōlappēraiyan, *m*, 280
 Kumāia-Peruvāniyan Dēvan Eriñjōdi, *m.*, 142.
 Kumāiavishnu II, *Pallava k*, [6]
 Kumai, *s. a.* Comorin, 3, 9, 11, 13, 20, 96, 97, 100, 101, 121, 122, 225, 275, 327, 332, 335, 337, 339, 343, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 357, 362, 363, 365, 370, 371
 Kumārila-Bhatta, *teacher*, [1], 376
 Kumbakōnam, *vi*, 215n, 233, 276, 282, 283, 382, 449, 450
 kumbha, *a pot*, 189
 kumbhābhishēka, *ceremony*, 90
 Kumbhōdbhava, *s. a.* Agastya, 464
 Kumili, *vi*, 165
 Kumili-nādu, *di*, 165, 167
 kummāyam, 317
 Kunamadan Āchehan, *m*, 438
 Kundamayan, *ch*, 59, 63
 Kundavai, Kundavā or Kūndavā, *queen of Vimalāditya*, [20], 126, 196
 Kundavai, *sister of Kulöttunga I*, 127, 196.
 Kundavai or Kundavaiyāi, *sister of Rājarāja I*, [15], [16], [19], 196
 Kundavai or Kundavaiyār, *queen of Vikramāditya I (Bāna k)*, 88, 100, 101
 Kundavai, *road*, 213
 kundil, *land*, 274, 330
 kundumanī, *weight*, 274n
 Kundūr, *vi*, 73, 75, 87, 111, 445, 449, 450, 465.
 Kundūr-kūrram, *di*, 445, 463
 Kunduvāy, *channel*, 317
 Kunilapura (*sic* Kuvalālapura), *s. o.* Kōlār, 99, 100
 Kuñjapevil, *vi.*, 257
 Kuñjaiamallan, *buruda of Parāntaka I*, [13],
 Kuñjramalli, *f*, 258, 259.
 Kunnattūr, *vi*, 49n
 Kunnūr, *vi.*, 443, 446, 450, 461
 Kunrādi Tiruppori, *m*, 293.
 Kunrakālī Sōmayāyār, *m*, 177
 Kunra kūrram, *di*, 152, 154.
 Kunra-nādu, *di.*, 118
 Kunra Nakkan, *m*, 318.

Kunran Paramēsaiyan, *m.*, 322
 Kunian Śingan, *m*, 322
 Kunnattūr, *s. a.* Kunnattūr, 49n.
 Kunnattūr-nādu, *di*, 49, 73, 74, 76, 78, 81, 83, 84, 85, 86, 88
 kunī, *gold and silver weight*, (=2 grams), 13, 311, 312, 318, 390, 427
 Kunriyū-nādu, *di*, 234
 Kuntala, Kuntala or Kondala, *co.*, 128, 129, 132, 140, 142, 146, 176.
 Kuntalas, *the Chūlukyas*, 32, 140
 Kūra, *vi.*, 443, 444, 450, 459, 462
 Kūiam, *vi.*, [5], [11], 21n, 22n, 49, 266, 269, 273
 Kurangādi, *land*, 97
 Kurattur, *vi*, 357, 358.
 Kuravaśēi, *vi*, 168
 kuri, *s. a.* sabhā, 17n, 176n, 330.
 Kurichchi, *vi*, 293
 Kūriyūr, *vi*, 199, 200
 kuiram, *a fine*, 38, 43, 121, 122
 Kūrrangōn, *m*, 443, 444, 459, 462.
 Kūruva-Nāyanai, *Chōla k. and samt*, [3].
 kūrū, *a sub-division*, 3, 148, 332, 335, 348, 351, 355
 Kuru, *tribe*, 457.
 Kurugai, *vi*, 151n
 Kurugaikāvalan Āiāvamudu, *m.*, 151.
 Kurukkal-kūrram, *di.*, 199, 200.
 Kurukkal-nādu, *di*, 427, 429.
 Kurukshētra, *te*, 360, 361
 kuukshētra, *war*, 336.
 Kuukshētradēva, *god*, 336, 337.
 Kuukulāiyan, *m*, 217
 Kurumadai, *vi*, 446.
 Kurumbas, *people*, 446
 Kurumbil, *vi.*, 427, 429
 Kurumi, *vi.*, 418n.
 Kuru-nādu, *di*, 446.
 Kurundurai, or Kurundurai-madu, *pond*, 430, 436.
 Kurundurai, *channel*, 432.
 kurunī, *gram and liquid measure*, 7n, 8, 118, 136, 139, 171, 189, 213, 216, 229, 266, 273, 274, 275, 282, 308, 316, 317, 318, 320, 321, 390, 427, 428, 471, 472
 kusakkānam, *tax*, 311, 391,
 kuśālī, 291n
 Kusappēru, *vi*, 318, 319, 321.
 Kusavankalanī, *land*, 480,
 Kuśavanpatti, *land*, 104.
 Kūttādi Nānūrruvan, *m*, 428, 439
 kuttai, *a kind of paddy*, 363
 kūttam, *an assembly*, 358
 Kūttan Gangaikondān, *m*, 472.
 Kūttan Sōmadēvan, *m*, 158.
 Kūtta-Perumānadigal, *s. a.* Natarāja, 104.
 Kūttēia-Bhatta-Sōmayāyār, *m*, 111.
 kūttu, *a dance*, 379
 Kūttū, *vi*, 247
 kuvāl, *a heap*, 222
 Kuvalaikōdu, *vi*, 16.
 Kuvalaikōdu-nādu, *di*, 16.
 Kuvalaimalai, *vi*, 445, 446, 450, 464.
 Kuvalāla, Kuvalālapura, Kolālapura or Kōlāhala-pura, *s. a.* Kōlār, 99, 100n, 101n, 105n, 108n, 122, 136, 138.
 Kuvalāla-nādu, *di.*, 136, 138.

Kuvalayadivākara-Mūvëndavêlân, *sur. of Vīdiyan*
Tirumāliruñjōlai, 117
Kuvalayasundara-Mūvëndavêlân, *sur. of Vêlân*
Kumaraian, 163
Kuvalayāsva, *sur. of Dbundhumāia*, 414n
Kuvānai Śīrālan, *m.*, 438
Kuvāvan Māran, *or Māran, sur. of Perumbidugu*
Muttaraiyan I., [7], 441n.
Kuvēia, *see* Kuvēia

L

lakshana, *an inscription*, 294.
Lakshmadēva, *ch.*, 53
Lakshmana, *the epic hero*, 190n.
Lakshmi, *goddess*, 28, 72, 117, 119, 127, 129, 142,
146, 158, 176, 185, 188, 414, 417, 420, 421,
458, 461, 464, 468.
Lakshminarasimhasvāmin, *te*, 159n.
Lakshmināyana, *te*, 172
Lakulīśvara-Pandita, *m.*, 27, 28.
Lakulīśa-Pāśupata, *sect.*, 27
language and alphabet —
Brāhmi, [2]
Drāvidi, [1].
Grantha, 50, 90, 97, 236n, 333n, 442.
Kanarese, [4]n, 52, 127, 138n, 162n, 307n.
Malayālam, 147n.
Prākṛit, [5], [6], 168n
Sanskrit, [1], [2], [5], 15n, [22], 20n, 30, 49,
50, 86, 90, 99, 125, 132, 134, 152, 155,
179, 185n, 216n, 219n, 230n, 236, 242,
243, 265, 267, 268, 291n, 321n, 384, 389,
390, 392, 426n, 442, 443, 444, 445, 447,
448, 456, 460
Tamil, [1], [2], [4], [10], [12], [13], [14],
[15], [16], [17], [18], [19], [22], 20n,
30n, 49, 50, 52, 56, 62, 81, 86, 90, 92n,
97, 99n, 117n, 122, 125, 126, 127, 128,
142n, 144n, 147, 152, 164n, 168, 178, 179,
181, 185n, 190n, 195, 197, 198, 208,
209n, 212n, 218, 228n, 230n, 236, 243,
256n, 257, 258n, 265, 266, 267, 268, 351,
384, 385n, 386, 388n, 389, 390, 392,
416n, 417n, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 447,
448, 451n, 452n, 453n, 454n, 459, 460,
464, 478
Telugu, [4n], [5], 33n, 125, 127, 128, 131,
142n, 152, 162n, 179, 181, 243, 376, 386
Vatteluttu, [10], 239, 243, 375, 442.
Lankā, *s. a* Ceylon, [10], [11], 55, 56, 63, 231,
387, 421, 442, 446
Lāta, *s. a* Gujarat, [19]
Leyden grant *or* plate, [4], [14], [16], [21], 14,
21, 26, 102n, 126, 162n, 163n, 238, 246, 265,
278, 301, 305n, 308n, 383, 386, 387, 388, 391,
416n, 417n, 418n, 419n, 464.
liṅga *or* Śiva-linga, [3]n, 296, 297, 345n, 382, 418.
lpi, *a letter*, 418
Lōkālōka, *mo*, 385, 414, 418.
Lōkamahādēvi-chaturvêdimangalam, *sur. of*
Manumangalam, 49, 51
Lōkamahārāya, *m.*, 365, 386
Lōkamahārāya-Tiruchchirrambalattālvār, *te*,
365, 366
Lōkamārāyapperuñjēru, *field*, 276.
lunar race, [17], 127, 385n, 388, 416n, 417n,
424, 443, 446, 449, 458.

M

mā, *gold and silver weight*, 390, 427, 428, 474,
475, 476
mā, *land measure*, 234, 235, 247, 248, 249, 260,
280, 281, 285, 300, 312, 330, 344, 355, 365,
377, 383
mādaī, *a gold coin*, 136, 138, 139, 162.
mādaī-kūli, 162
Madaippalli, *a kitchen*, 234
Madakōdu, *vi*, 37
Mādamalingam, *vi*, [19], 469
Mādalan Kunra Nakkan, *m.*, 322
Mādan, *m.*, 91.
madavilāgam *or* madaivilāgam *or* tuumadaī-
vilāgam, *a quarter in the environs of a temple*,
48, 167, 216, 322, 472
maddalam, *a musical instrument*, 319
Mādēva bhatta *m.*, 330
Mādēvadigalār, Udaiyapirāttiyār, Pirāttiyār,
Udaiyapirāttiyār Mādēvadigalār, *or* Pirānta-
kan-Mādēvadigalār, *sur. of* Śembiyan Mādēvi-
yar, [14], 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 306, 307,
318n
Mādēvan, Kān . Dēvanpuram, *m.*, 278
Mādēvi-Ārāndimangalam, *sur. of* Vedāl, 224, 225
Mādhava-Bhattan, *m.*, 77, 78, 79, 81, 330
Mādhava-Kramavittan, *m.*, 64, 71, 96, 113
Madhukannava, *m.*, 59n
Madhurā, *s. a* Madura, [4n], [10], [18], 18, 43,
206, 209n, 215, 265, 272, 460
Madhuaguna, *m.*, 443, 459.
Madhurāntaka, *Chōla prince*, 33, 36n
Madhurāntaka, *Chōla k.*, 102
Madhurāntaka, *sur. of* Parāntaka, [10]
Madhurāntaka, *Telugu Chōla, ch.*, 33n
Madhurāntaka, *sur. of* Rājēndia-Chōla I., [22],
388, 389, 422, 423, 424, 425
Madhurāntaka *or* Madhurāntakadēva, *sur. of*
Uttama-Chōla, [14], [16], 45n, 102, 196, 251,
262, 272, 276, 278, 279, 294, 295, 296, 297,
300, 318, 379, 383, 386, 387, 420, 421n
Madhurāntakadēva, *Nāgavams k.*, [19].
Madhurāntaka-Irukkuvel, *sur. of* Bhūti-Vikrama-
kēsarin, *m.*, 249
Madhurāntaka Kaduttalai Manrādi, *m.*, 350.
Madhurāntaka Mūvëndavêlân, *sur. of* Śirringan-
Udayān Kōyil-Mayilai, 379
Madhurāntakan, *Chōla prince*, 62.
Madhurāntaka-Pottappichōla, *sur. of* Tamma-
siddhi, 207
Madhurāntaka-Pottappichōla, *sur. of* Nallasiddhi,
207.
Madhurāntakī, *queen of* Kulōttunga I., 131, 156,
178, 179, 196.
Madhyārūna, *s. a*, Idamarudūr, 155
Madhyārūna-māhātmya, *Sanskrit work*, 155n
madhyastha, *an arbitrator*, 2, 4, 5, 73, 155, 233,
267, 275, 288, 324, 327, 330, 332, 333, 334,
335, 336, 337, 345, 356, 371
Mādilan Kalvan Gerudan, *m.*, 322
Madimangalam, *vi*, 39
Madirai, Madurai *or* Madhurā, *s. a* Madura,
[7], 18, 19, 43, 44, 46, 83, 84, 205, 206, 209n,
212, 215, 218, 219, 232, 234, 235, 236, 237,
238, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 251, 253, 254,
266, 267, 275, 289, 292.

Madiraikonda or Madiraikonda Parakēsarivarman, *sur of* Parāntaka I, [9], [10], 18, 250, 267, 279, 280, 386, 441, 449
 Madiraikonda Rājakēsarivarman, *sur of* Ganda-
 dīva, [14], 250, 251, 252, 253, 254.
 Madiraiyūm Ilamumkonda Parakēsarivarman,
sur of Parāntaka I, [11].
 Madisūdanān (Madhusūdana), *k*, 57
 Madias, *vi*, 33n, 49n, 52, 73n, 76n, 133, 337
 Madias Museum, [5], [17], 8, 264, 348, 441, 442,
 445, 446, 447, 448, 449
 Madira, *vi*, [4]n, [9], [10], [11], 231, 232, 233,
 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 241, 242, 243,
 244, 245, 251, 253, 254, 267, 275, 292, 441,
 443, 445, 446, 449, 460, 473, 474, 475.
 Madiraiyūm Ilamum-konda, *title of* Parāntaka
 I, 386
 Ditto, . . . *title of* Kulōttunga I II, 206.
 Ditto, . . . *title of* Rājadhīrāja II, 206
 Maduramandalam or Madhura, *co.*, [19], [86], 468
 Maduramangalam, *vi*, 365
 Madurāntaka, *road*, 177
 Madurāntaka-chatuvēdumangalam, *s a* Madu-
 rāntakam, 173, 176, 202, 204.
 Madurāntakachēhēri, *quarter*, 177
 Madurāntakadēvan, *bulldog*, 427, 428.
 Madurāntukadēvan-māda, *com*, [22].
 Madurāntaka Karumbulār, *m*, 230
 Madurāntakam, *vi*, 79, 126, 141, 173, 174, 178,
 179, 202
 Madurāntakan-Kandāādittanār, *ch*, 102.
 Madurāntakan-māda, *com*, 143, 164
 Madurāntaka-Mūvēndavēlān, *sur of* Koyil
 Mayilai, 307
 Maduvanan, *ch*, 37
 madya-pāna, *intoxicating drinks*, 137
 Magadha, *co*, 388, 422, 444, 461
 Māgandanān, *m*, 329
 maganmai, 177
 Māganai, *vi*, 49n, 51, 77
 Māganai-nādu, *di*, 49, 57, 63, 70, 118, 139, 140.
 Magōda, *s a* Tiruvāṇjaikkalam, 31
 Mahābali, *mythical k*, 90, 91, 96, 97, 98, 100, 101
 Mahābalibānārāja, *see* Mahāvalivānārāja
 Mahābalipuram, *vi*, 345n, 356
 Mahābhārata, *epic poem*, [1], 385n, 416n, 417n,
 443, 445, 460
 mahādandanāyaka, *a general*, 32, 37
 Mahādēva-vāyakkāl, *channel*, 329, 330
 Mahādēva, *s a* Śiva, 24, 25, 27, 28, 30, 38, 39,
 41, 42, 44, 106, 107, 114, 119, 120, 136, 148,
 162, 176, 199, 200, 202, 221, 222, 227, 234,
 235, 236, 237, 239, 243, 249, 250, 251, 252,
 253, 259, 260, 281, 282, 283, 286, 288, 291,
 292, 293, 294, 306, 307, 310, 311, 345, 352,
 354, 358, 373, 374, 384, 390, 414n, 428, 435,
 437, 465, 469, 470, 471, 473
 Mahādēva-Bhattāraka, *god*, 280.
 Mahādēva Pīdāran, *m*, 426.
 mahājana, 9n
 Mahājanapūyan, *sur of* Ilakkuvanān Pañchanēdī
 Ālumbūn, 78
 Mahājanapūyan, *m*, 83
 Mahākūta, *vi*, 31n
 Mahālingasvāmin, *te*, [17], 155, 260, 284, 378.
 Mahāmandalēsvaia, *title*, 32, 59
 Mahārājādhīrāja, *title*, 195, 198.

Mahārājapādi, Mahārājavādi, or Mārāyapādi,
s a Mārāyavādi, 106, 107, 350
 Mahārāthas, 443, 444, 446
 Mahāthēia Ananda, *author*, [22]
 Mahātitha, *vi*, [11]
 Mahāvali (Mahābali) vānārāja, Mahāvalivānārāja,
 Mahāvalibānārāja or Mahāvalivānārāja, *Bāna*
title, 90, 91, 95, 96, 97
 Mahāvalivānārāja or Māvalivānārāja, *sur. of*
 Vikramāditya I, 90, 94
 Mahāvamsa, *Singhalese chronicle*, [2], [4]n, [11],
 [15], [53], 59, 195, 206, 231, 255, 449n
 Mahāvishnu, *see* Vishnu
 Mahēndia, *s a* India, 461
 Mahēndiagiri, *hill*, [26], 69n, 388n.
 Mahēndiavādi, *vi*, [6]
 Mahēndiavarman I, *Pallava k*, [5]
 Mahēsvaia or Śiv-Mahēsvara, 24, 26, 30, 39, 41,
 43, 44, 48, 94, 96, 97, 100, 101, 111, 120, 148,
 155, 158, 159, 172, 186, 200, 202, 210, 222,
 223, 227, 228, 229, 231, 234, 235, 242, 245,
 247, 249, 250, 251, 253, 257, 258, 260, 263,
 264, 277, 278, 286, 288, 292, 322, 352, 354,
 358, 376, 382, 472, 473
 Mahēsvaia-kāni, *land given to Mahēsvara*, 472.
 Mahēsvaiaapperumakkal, *body of*, 245n.
 Mahinda IV., *Ceylon k*, [15], 255
 Mahinda V., *Ceylon k*, [18],
 Mahinda, *Ceylon k*, 449n
 Mahipāla, *ch*, 210n.
 Mahipāla I., *Pālu k*, [19], 388, 425, 462
 Mahipālakulakālanallū, *s. a.* Śāttangudi, 210,
 212, 214, 216
 Mahipālakulakālapperaiayan, *sur of* Tirumanap-
 picchan, 469, 470.
 makarātōraia, *an ornamental arch*, 37
 Makutēsvaia, *te*, 31n
 Malaikkūram, *di*, 197
 Malayān Vinaiyai-venān, *ch*, 208
 Mala-Kongam, *co*, 446
 Malakūta, *s a* Malai-kūram, 197
 Malalamangalam, *vi*, 365, 366
 Malayū, *vi*, [21], 468
 Mala-nādu, *ch*, 367, 368
 Malapādi, *s a* Tirumalavādi, 182.
 Malappūn Kumārasāmi-Kiamavittan, *m*, 168
 Malava, *people*, 446
 Malavaraiyan Sundarasōlan, *ch*, 476, 477
 Malavaraiyar, *ch*, 286, 287
 Malavaraiyan, *m*, 217
 Malaya, *mo*, 388, 422
 Malayāla retinue, [13]
 mālgai, *palace*, 475
 Malisai, *vi*, 429, 437
 Mahisakāttu or Mahisāttu (*sic* for Mahisai-nādu),
 429n
 Mahisai-nādu, *di*, 429n, 437.
 Māikhēd, *vi*, 390
 Malladēva, *Bānu k*, 90.
 Mallapadēva, *E Chalukya k*, 127, 128, 181, 179,
 180, 181
 Malliyanan, *ch*, 68.
 Malliyūr, *vi*, 89n.
 Māmallapuram, *vi*, 30n, 165, 186n.
 Māmandūr, *vi*, 1, 8.
 Mānābharana, *Pāndya k*, 52, 56, 59.
 Mānābharana I, *Ceylon k*, 59, 63.

Mānābhāraṇan, *sur* of Śōliyavaraiyan, 97
 manai, 260
 manai-aṇdu, *channel*, 57, 75, 78, 83
 Manaiyil, *vi*, 391, 431.
 Manaiyil (or Manavil)-nādu, *di*, 289, 291, 431
 Manaiyir (Manayir, Manayil or Manavir)-
 kōttam, *di*, 136, 291, 365, 366, 367, 375, 426,
 438
 Mānakkavāṇam, *see* Nakkavāṇam
 Mānakkūai Vīraṇāṭṭayanāṇi, *m*, 282, 283
 Manali, *vi*, 133, 134
 manalidu, 288
 Manahkkāl, *channel*, 108
 Manalur, *vi*, 129, 144, 147, 176
 Manamēlkudi, *vi*, 197
 Mānan Aṭayērru-Bhattan or Mānan Aṇyēru, *m*,
 429, 437
 Mānan Kamban, *m*, 428, 429
 Mānasaiya, *m*, 172
 Manavāḷapperumāl, image of, 261, 262, 362, 363.
 Mānayittu-kāl, *channel*, 253
 Mandakula-nādu, *di*, 119n
 Mandakolattūr, *vi*, 119n
 Mandākāṇṭa, *metre*, 45
 mandalam, *a country*, 45, 46, 81, 83
 Mandaliḱa or Mandalin, *title*, 53, 63, 68n
 Mandala, *mo*, 385, 415
 Mandaiagaurava, *sur* of Rājasiṃha III, 444.
 Mandaragauravamangalam, *sur* of Naccheygai-
 puttai, 443, 444, 446, 450, 459, 462
 Māndhātṛi, *mythical solar k*, [4], 385, 414, 415n
 Mandiam, *vi*, 103, 104, 114, 117
 Māngādu, *vi*, 113n, 329.
 Māngādu-nādu, *di*, 118, 263, 264, 429, 437
 Māngadūr, *vi*, [6]
 Mangalasēnāpati *m*, 330n
 Mangalam, *vi*, 391, 430, 431
 Mangalangilān, *the headman of Mangalam*, 81,
 82, 118
 Mangalapura, *vi*, [6], 446
 Mangalavāsal or Mangalavāyil, *vi*, 234, 389, 426
 Mangalēsa, *W. Chalukya k*, 31n
 manī *a gem*, 475.
 māni *a brahmachārin*, 227, 273, 285, 319
 mānikkam, *a ruby*, 297
 Mānikkan Durandaran, *m*, 438
 Mānikkan Eduttapādam, *m*, 427, 428, 483
 Mānikkasetti, *m*, 295
 Manimangalam, *vi*, 31, 48, 49, 50, 51, 57, 59, 64,
 70, 73, 74, 76, 77, 78, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86,
 87, 88, 125, 126, 128, 139, 151n, 178, 190, 191,
 192, 193, 194, 195, 330
 Manivannīśvara, *te*, 159
 Maniyāchi, *vi*, 443, 444, 450, 459.
 mañjādī, *gold and silver weight*, 38, 114, 151, 163,
 164, 177, 189, 236, 237, 239, 262, 266, 273,
 274, 291, 292, 293, 311, 312, 318, 343, 372,
 390, 427, 428, 474, 475, 476, 477.
 mañjikkam, 30, 97n, 204, 327, 329, 330, 357,
 358
 Mañjippayan or Mañjippayanāṇi, *ch*, 65, 68, 70
 Manmatha, *god*, 422
 Mannaichey or Mannichey, *field*, 309, 317
 Mannaikkadakkam or Mannai, *s a. Mālkhēd*,
 [17], [18], 28, 390, 430, 466, 468.
 Mannaikonda-Chōla, *sur. of Rājendra-Chōla I*,
 [18]
 Mannāḷaiyamangalam, *vi*, 391, 431.

Mannanāṇi, *s a. Vishnu*, 87
 Mannan Kannan, *m*, 374, 375
 Mannai, *gulf of*, 130, 144, 147n
 Mannarai, *vi*, 31, 43, 44.
 Mannāḷgudi *vi*, 126, 465, 470.
 Manne, *vi*, 390, 466
 Mannikkāl, *channel*, 51, 63.
 Mannikuichechi, *vi*, 446
 mannilai, 247
 Manni-nādu, or Manni-nāndu, *di*, 152, 162, 190.
 manrādi, *a shepherd*, 119, 159, 200, 362
 Manrādi *m*, 91
 Maṇṇan Kunamāṇi, *m*, 378
 manru, manrupādal, or manupādu, *tax*, 19, 38,
 43, 51n, 96n, 222n, 226, 262, 311, 356n, 358,
 374, 391, 436
 Manu, *sage*, [1], [4], [15], 38, 57, 70, 113, 114,
 117, 146, 176, 184, 191, 210, 212, 218, 384,
 413, 419, 461.
 Manukula, *the Chola family*, [9]
 Manukulāditya, *s a. Aditya I*, [9].
 Manukula chūḷāmanī-chatuvēdimangalam, *vi*, [9]
 Mānyakhēta, *s a. Mālkhēd*, [18], 390, 466.
 Māppappālam, *see* Pappālam
 Mara or Marava, *tribe*, 206, 212, 268
 maraividam, *secret apartment*, 427
 maraiyili, 300
 marakkāl, *grain and liquid measure*, 8, 113, 139,
 171, 189, 190, 367
 Māran, *see* Kuvāvan, Māran-
 Māraṇjadaiyan, *Pāndya k*, 294
 Māraṇjadaiyan, *sur* of Parāntaka Neduṇjadai-
 yan, 442, 449
 Māran Paṇamēśvaran, *ch*, 242, 243
 Māran Paṇamēśvaran, *sur. of Ilangoṇḍaiya-*
yan, 441n
 Māraṇjadaiyan, *sur* of Varaguna I, 448
 Māraṇjadaiyan, *sur* of Varaguna II, 449
 Mārapidugu (or Mālpidugu)-vadi, *path*, 326, 327,
 336, 338, 339, 340, 341, 346, 349, 353, 355, 360.
 Mārasimha, *ch*, 33
 Maravan, *caste*, 268
 Maravan Pūdiyāṇi, *s a. Tennavan Ilangoṇḍai*,
 228
 Māravaṇman, *sur. of Rājasiṃha I*, 442, 446
 Māravaṇman, *sur* of Rājasiṃha III, 443, 459
 Māraṇman, *sur* of Arikēsaṇ Asamasaman
 Māravaṇman, 463
 Māravaṇman, *sur. of kulaśēkhara*, 465n.
 Māraviyaṇḍottungavarman, *Katāha k*, [21], 466.
 Mārayan, *s a. Mārasimha*, 32, 37
 māri, *fineness*, 232n
 Marichi, *sage*, 413n
 Mārjavāda or Mārjavadi, *di*, 106, 350
 Mārkaṇḍeya-Puāna, 416n
 Mākkamangalam, *vi*, 151.
 Māttumālai-Kollai, *field*, 288
 Maruda-nādu, *di*, 26
 Marudañcheruvu, *field*, 226.
 Marudan Dēvan, *m*, 159
 Marudanga-Vēlān, *s a. Vēlān Kaiyān*, 46.
 Marudan Piramakuttan, *m*, 261.
 Marudu, *tree*, 155
 Marudūr, *vi*, 239, 241, 442, 445, 446, 447, 450,
 464.
 Marugal-nādu, *di*, 428, 429
 Marutta, *mythical solar k*, 385, 416.
 maruvu, *plant*, 392, 437
 maṣakkal, *cultivated field*, 264.

Māsunidēśam, *co*, [19], 468.
 māshaka, *gold weight*, 257, 258
 matha, 138, 165, 167, 374, 375
 mātthāpatya, 138n
 Mathuā *or* Madhurā, *vi*, [19], 151n
 Mātruvadi, *pathuray*, 281
 Mātusivas, 367, 368
 Matsyapuriāna, *Sanskrit work*, 413n
 Mattaimūrumā, *land*, 310
 mattali, *a drummer*, 273
 Mattavānachehēri, *quarter of Mēlpādi*, 24.
 Mattavilāsapiṭhasana, *work*, [5].
 mātṭinai, 189
 Mattuvali Śiṅlangō-Bhattan, *m*, 85
 Maanakumaramātāndan, *enclosure*, 223, 224.
 Maurya, *dy*, [1]
 māvūnai, 311, 391, 436
 Māyāna, *m*, 389, 426
 Māyān Kāñjan, *m*, 282
 Māyā-Pāndya, *k*, 443, 446, 449, 457.
 Māyidavōlu, *vi*, [6]
 Māyilatti, *m*, 347
 Māyirudingam, *vi*, [21], 469
 mēghādambai *or* megh-dumbai, *explained*, 37n
 Mēl-Adaiyāru-nādu, *di*, 89
 Mēladavāy, *vi*, 299
 Mēlaikkōyil, *te*, 234
 Mēlaikkulam, *tank*, 319.
 Mēlappalugūr-nādu, *di*, 375
 mēleri, 286
 Mēlmalai-Mēlūr-nādu, *di*, 431, 432, 438
 Mēl(*or* Mēn)malai-Palaiyanūr-nādu, *see* Palai-
 yanūr-nādu
 Mēlpādi, Mēlpāti *or* Mēipādi, *vi*, 22, 23, 24, 25,
 26, 27, 28, 29, 103, 387, 391, 431
 Mēlūr-nadu, *di*, 198, 199
 mēnadai, 308, 309, 310
 Mēnāranamangalam, *vi*, 293
 Menmalai *or* Mēlmalai, *the western hill*, 134
 Mēikā-(*or* Mēlkkāl)-nādu, *di*, 152, 209
 Mērkāviri *or* Mēlkkāviri, *vi*, 377, 383.
 Mērkudi, *vi*, 352, 354
 Mēru, *mo*, 142, 146, 175, 176, 413n
 mēru, *a dāna*, 443, 460.
 Indravajrā, *metre*, 86
 mēttēttam, *high land*, 288
 mēttu-vāykkāl, *high-level channel*, 435
 Mēvilmbangam, *vi*, [21], 469
 meykāppān, *a body-guard*, 239
 Meypporunāyanai, *Saiva saint*, 233
 Mīdugūr, *or* Mīduvūr, *vi*, 391, 433.
 Mīdūr, *vi*, 277
 Mīgōlai, *di*, 168, 171
 Mīkai-nādu, *see* Mīyarai-nādu
 Mīlādudaiyār, *sa* Meypporunāyanār, 223
 Mīlādudaiyārpalli, *te*, 223, 224
 Mīlalaikūriam, *di*, 462
 Mīmāṃsā, *philosophy*, 376
 Mīnavan, *title*, 55
 Mīnava, *sa* Pāndya, 57, 72, 81, 119, 461
 Mīnavan Muvēndavēlān, *ch*, 45, 217.
 Mīnavan-Muvēndavēlān, *sur. of* Adittan, 293
 Mīnavan-Muvēndavēlān, *sur of* Aṭaiyan Śrīkan-
 dan, 427, 429
 Mīnavan-Muvēndavēlān, *sur. of* Vēlān Gandarā-
 dichchan, 308, 311, 312
 Mīndigal, *vi*, 52, 106.

Mūñjūr, *vi*, 85
 Miśengili (*or* Miśengiliyūr)-nādu, *di*, 171, 438.
 Mīvali-Vāvalūr-nādu, *di*, 227, 228.
 Mīvaru, Mīvarai (*or* Mīkai)-nādu, *m*, 30, 89n,
 94, 96, 97, 102, 107, 111
 mīyāchei, 307, 308, 311, 459, 460
 Mīyundāru, *di*, 444, 450, 462
 Mīyākkānkai, *field*, 236
 Mīyvali-Tāyanūr, *vi*, 351, 352, 354
 Mōdan Śūrri, *m*, 200
 Mo-lo-ku-ch'a, *s.a.* Malaikkūriam, 197
 months, *solai* —
 Ādi, 18, 46, 47
 Aippai *or* Appigai, 18, 102, 151, 207,
 227
 Āni, 284
 Kāttigai *or* Kāttigai, 84, 207, 229.
 Mārgai, 301, 319
 Māsi, 121, 239
 Panguni *or* Pangūni, 151, 229, 363
 Śittinai, Chaitia *or* Chitā, 18, 173, 182,
 185, 227, 267, 275, 363
 Tai, 79, 207
 Vāgāsi, 122n, 301, 319, 471
 Moon, 127, 147n, 415, 445, 446, 459, 464, 472
 Mottai Angādi, *m*, 366
 Mottaikkinaru, *well*, 435
 Mottaiyan, *ch*, 59, 63
 Mūhasthalam (*sic*, Brihatsthala), *vi*, 190
 Mūtyujit, *mythical Chōla k*, [4], 385, 417
 Muchukunda, *mythical solar k*, [4] 385, 415
 mudal, *cost*, 143
 Mudakkurai, 479
 Mudapuram, *vi*, 280
 Mudichehōla-nādu, *di*, 239
 Mudigonda-Chōla, *sur of* Rājēndia-Chōla I,
 [22], 390
 Mudigonda (*or* kondā) - Chōla *or* Mudikon-
 dā, *Chōla prince*, 33, 36, 58, 62
 Mudigonda-Sōlan, *hall*, 390n
 Mudigonda(*or* konda)sōlapuam (*or* chōlapuam),
sur of Gangaikondachōlapuram, [20], 389,
 390, 425, 426, 427, 428
 Mudivalangusōlapuam, *sur of* Karuvai, 30, 44,
 46
 Mudumbai, *vi*, 6
 Mudumbai Porkūli, *m*, 330
 Mudyānūr, *vi*, 90
 mugattu-kāl, *high-level channel*, 347
 Mugavetti, *office*, 118, 289, 293, 301, 312, 390,
 428, 429, 438
 Mughals, 37n
 Mukari, *vi*, 418n
 Mukhalingam, *vi*, [22]
 Mukkal, *field*, 106
 Mukkōkkilānadi *or* Mukkōkkilānadigal, *queen of*
 Vikrama - Chōla, 79n, 181, 182, 185n, 186,
 189
 Mukkōkkilānadigal, *queen of* Rājaija II, 79,
 81
 Mukkuragā, 477 479
 Mukkurumbil *or* Mukkurumbu, *vi*, 293, 312.
 Mukunda, *sa* Vishnu, 385, 415
 Mūlabhadra, *elephant*, 63
 mulaippāligai, 189n
 Muluyūr *or* Vanga-Mulayūr, *vi*, 162, 190.
 Mūlaparadai, *see* parudai

Mulanikudi, *vi*, 280
 mūlasthāna mūlattāna or mūlattāna, *a central shrine*, 137, 470, 471, 477, 479
 Mūlasthāna, *s a* Vēdagūisvaia, 143, 148, 222.
 Mūlasthāna, *s a* Mahālingasvāmin, 379
 Mūlavairaman *k*, [7]
 Mūh-Udayadivākaran, *m*, 438
 Mullaivāyil, *vi*, 391, 433
 Mullaiyūi, *vi*, 52, 56
 Mullikkurumbu, *vi*, 285
 Mulli-nādu, *di*, 39
 Mullūi, *vi*, 163
 Mummadi-(Mummudi or Mummudi)chchōla or Mummudiśōladēva, *sur of* Rājārāja I., 14, 22, 29, 30, 229
 Mummadi-Chōda, *Chōla prince*, 196.
 Mummadi-Chōla, *sur of* Rājārāja I., [18]
 Mummadi-Śōlan, *Chōla prince*, 62
 Mummadi - Śōlamandalam, *sur. of* Īlam, [17].
 Mummadiśōlapperunderu, *street*, 22, 23, 24
 Mummalaian, *m*, 254
 Mummudi-Chōla (or Śōla) - Brahma mahārāja (or Mārāyan), *sur of* Kṛishṇa Rāma, [14], [15].
 Mummudi-Śōla-nallūi, *vi*, 118, 139, 159, 162
 Mummudi-Śōla - Pōsan or Mummudi-Chōla-Bhōja, *sur of* Ītiyuvāvan Pallavayan, 14, 15, 30
 Munainallūi, *vi*, 287
 Munaippādi, *di*, 234.
 Munaiyan Arumoliddēvan, *m*, 171, 172
 munduigai, *fractio*n, 300, 355
 Mūngirkudi, *vi*, 438.
 Muppaiāsan, *ch*, 69
 Muppattiruva-Bhattan, *m*, 119, 120
 Mura, *demon*, 426
 Muṇai, *s a* Viṣṇu, 420.
 Mūrtti-Vīdividangan, *m*, 428, 429, 438
 Mūsangi, *vi*, 28, 468.
 Mūsittaikkudi, *vi*, 307, 312, 318, 319.
 Mutta-nādu, *di*, 228.
 muttai, *tax*, 322.
 Muttaiayan, *family*, [7]
 Muttaiayan, *m*, 254.
 Mūvaikōyil, *te*, 249, 257
 Mūvēndi, *ch*, 37

N

Nācheiyāi, *goddess*, 475, 476
 nadai-kāl, *channel*, 330
 Nadaiyūian, *m*, 239
 Nādamuni, *Vaishnava Āchārya*, 177n
 nādan-maṅjal, *saffron*, 189.
 Nadār, *vi*, 117, 134
 nādātēci, *fee for the administration of the district*, 311, 391, 436
 nādu, *a division*, 38, 44, 46, 94, 113, 114, 117, 134, 142n, 159n, 162, 165, 199, 210, 269, 275, 286, 293, 307, 308, 309, 427, 428, 429, 430, 438
 nādu-kāval, *tax*, 391, 437.
 naduvil-angādi, 372
 Naduvil (or Naduvin)malai-Perumār-nādu, *see* Perumār-nādu
 naduvinukkai or naduvirukkum, *an arbitrator*, 292, 390, 427
 Naduvir kūrnam, *di*, 462
 Naduvu-ti utticchey, *land*, 77.

Nāga, *race*, [3], 420.
 Nāgalai, *f*, 32, 37
 Nāgama-Bhatta, *m*, 113
 Nāganārāyanan, *m*, 118
 Nāgangudi, *vi*, 162
 Nāgan Vānarājan Alagamaiyan, *m*, 368
 Nāgapattanam, *s a* Negapatam, [2], [21]
 nagara or nagarattār, *merchants*, 223, 261, 268, 274, 275, 343, 379, 382
 nagarangaḷilār, *headmen of towns*, 427
 Nagecoil, *vi*, 159
 Nāgēsvaia, *te*, 276, 283, 382
 Nāgniyan Ādittan, *m*, 318
 Naippui or Neppui, *vi*, 444, 446, 449, 450, 461, Nais, *sect*, 130
 akkan Ēnādi, *m*, 262
 Nakkan-Kāda(-kādan), *m.*, 413, 459, 462.
 Nakkan Kanichchan, *m*, 266, 273, 292
 Nakkankumān or Kumān *m.*, 443, 444, 459, 462.
 Nakkan Śāndiādēvi, *f*, 235
 Nakkan Viṁamābhāian, *f*, 245
 Nakkapputtēi, *tank*, 64
 Nakkavāiam or Mānakkavāram, *s a. the Nicobar islands*, [21], 195, 469
 Nakshatras —
 Anurādhā, 122n
 Āślēshā, 239, 241
 Avinī, 210
 Avittam, (Śiavishtā), 186n, 278.
 Chitrā, 83, 182
 Dhanishtā, 86
 Hastā, 182, 185.
 Jyēsthā or Tnukkēttai, 186, 189, 190, 301, 318
 Makhā, 276
 Mūla, 284
 Punarvasu, 79.
 Punattādi, 185
 Pushya, 219
 Rēvatī, 88, 102.
 Rōhinī, 63, 77
 Śatabhishaj, 73, 74
 Śiavana or Tiruvōnam, 57, 87, 173, 186n
 Svātī (Śōdi), 282
 Tiruvādnai, 301, 319.
 Uttara-Phalgunī, 70.
 Uttirattādi, 185
 Viśāgam, 301, 319.
 Nakulēsvaia, *shrine of*, 90, 109.
 Nālāyirapiabandham, *the Vaishnava Scripture*, 2, 140, 143n, 148, 151n, 186, 187, 233, 268, 272n, 342, 356.
 Nālāyuvāvan, *m.*, 5, 6
 nāh, *own and liquid measure*, 4, 5, 11, 81, 83, 97, 103, 118, 139, 151, 163, 164, 189, 202, 213, 216, 222, 227, 233, 241, 253, 262, 273, 274, 275, 279, 282, 288, 298, 308, 311, 312, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 330, 342, 357, 363, 378, 382 390, 427, 428, 436
 Nallasiddhi or Nallasiddharaśar, *Telugu Chōda ch*, 207.
 nallā or nallāvu, *tax*, 311, 391.
 nallerudu, *tax*, 311, 391
 Nallūr, *vi.*, 282
 nālōlai, *calendar*, 301, 321.
 Nālūr, *vi.*, 222.

Nāmanai-kōnam, *vs*, [19], [18], 468
 namanigai, *sacred cloth*, 273, 321.
 Namban Maduāntakadēvan, *m.*, 158.
 Namban Mañjan, *m* 362
 nambi, *a worshipper*, 269n.
 Nambi, *m*, 66
 Nambinangai, *f*, 77
 Nambi Panii, *m.*, 228
 nambū ātti, *a queen*, 288
 Nambi Sādēvan (Ṣahādēva), *m.*, 28
 Nambi Tinaiyan, *m*, 28
 Nambiyamallan, *m*, 225, 226
 Nambūr, *vi*, 177
 Naminandi-Adigal, *Śiva saint*, 165, 167
 Nammālvar, *Vaiṣṇava saint*, 2, 148
 Nānamālai-Kiamavittan, *m*, 73
 Nandavānappuam, 306, 307, 311
 nandikēsvāra, *god*, 186
 Nandi-Kiamavittan, *m*, 73
 Nandippōttaiyai, *Pallava k*, [8], 223, 226, 227, 228, 229n
 Nandipuiam, *vi*, 233, 234, 476, 477, 478
 Nandinangai, 361, 367.
 Nandisāmi-Pōśai, *m*, 338
 Nandisūan, *m*, 295
 Nandīsvāra-Bhatta, *m*, 257
 Nandivaima-(vanma or °panma)mangalam, *s a*
 Uyyakkondān Tirumalai, 230, 231, 375, 376.
 Nandivaiman or Nandivaima-Kādupattigal,
Pallava k., 373, 374
 Nandivaiman, *Pallava k*, [6], 243, 260, 375, 448
 Nandivarman, Nandivikiamavaiman or Vijaya-
 Nandivikiamavaiman, *Ganga-Pallava k*, 8, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 99.
 Nandiyarājai (or iāyan), *m*, 213, 217
 Nāṅgai Vaiyaguna-Perumānāi, *see* Vaiyagunā
 Nangāsi, *he'd*, 64
 Nangili, *vi*, 129, 144, 147, 176
 Nangorra-Kadamban, *m*, 136
 Nāñji-nādu, *di*, 159, 162
 Nannamaaiyar or Nannaman, *ch*, 106, 107.
 Nanni-Nulambau, *ch*, 69, 63.
 Nannūl, *Tamil Grammar*, 122, 208
 Nara, *s a* Aijuna, 457.
 Nārapādi, *vi*, 391, 430
 Nariakkan Mārāyan Jananāthan, *see* Jananātha.
 Nariakkan Rāman, *ch.*, [17]
 Nāiana land, 317
 Nāianau (Nāiāyana), *ch*, 57
 Narasa, *Vijayanagara k.*, 418n,
 Narasimha, image of, 86
 Narasimhavaiman or Vijaya-Narasimhavaiman,
Ganga-Pallava k, 8 90
 Narasimhavaiman I or Narasingappōttaiyai,
Pallava k, [8], 49
 Narasingabhattan, *m*, 358
 Narasingamangalam, *vi*, 241
 Narasinga Perumān or Narasinga-Perumānadi-
 gal, *te*, 239, 241
 Naratunga-chatuvēdimangalam, *vi.*, 104
 Nāiāyana, *poet*, 342, 389, 426.
 Nāiāyanabhatta-Saivakiatuvāpēyayājiyār, *m.*, 177
 Nāiāyana-Kiamavittan, *m*, 64, 342.
 Nāiāyanan Adai-kalvan, *m.*, 24, 26
 Nāiāyana-Nambi, *m*, 151.
 Nāiāyananār, *m.*, 256

Nārāyanan Dasapuriyan, *m*, 247.
 Nārāyanan-Karrah, or Karrah, *ch*, 389, 425, 427, 429.
 Nārāyanan Mudikonda-Śōla-Pallavaraiyan, *m.*, 118
 Nārāyanan Rājasimhan, *m*, 4
 Nārāyanan Sēndappiran Bhattan, *see* Sēndapuān Bhatta.
 Nārāyanan Tūchchirrambalam-Udayān, *m*, 163
 Nārāyanan Tiruvāyikkulam Udayān, *m*, 155
 Narcheygai-Puttū, *s a* Śinnamanūi 443, 444, 446, 450, 459, 462
 Nārēndiapati *mythical k*, 385, 417
 Nārishvānta, *mythical k*, 416 n
 Narkāvu-nādu, *di*, 31
 Nāippattennāyina-mangalādtan, *m*, 267, 275
 Nāippattennāyina-Pichchan, *sur of* Aravindan Kuran, 472
 Nārāyanallu, *vi*, 438
 Nāsik, *vi*, 7n, 15n
 nātaka (nādaga)-sālai, *a theatrical hall*, 260, 261, 379
 Natarāja, *god*, [13], 104n, 210, 212n, 216n, 288.
 Natēsa, *god*, 185
 Nāthankōvil, *te.*, 233.
 Nātkilnāttōm, 429
 nattam, *a village site*, 257, 310, 364, 426.
 nāttār or nāttōm, *members of the district assembly*, 291, 392, 427, 437, 444, 462.
 Nāttukkumumbu, *vi.*, 446.
 Nāval, *s a* Jambu, 134n, 146.
 Nāval, *vi*, 444, 446, 449, 450, 461.
 Navale-nādu, *di*, 130
 Nāvaltīvu, *s a* Jumubdvīpa, 446, 461.
 Navilai, *vi*, 130
 Nāyakas, *chiefs of Ellore*, 180
 Nāyanār, *god*, 474, 475
 Nedumāl, *s a* Vishnu, 185
 Neduñjadaiyan, *s a* Parāntaka Neduñjadaiyan, 442, 444, 446
 Neduñjeliyan, *Pāndya k*, 445
 Neduvayal, *vi.*, 446.
 Negapatam, *vi*, [2], 269
 Nelkuppai-udaiyān *m*, 186
 Nelli or Nellore, *vi*, [6], [12], 33n, 43, 76n, 204, 207, 242, 243
 Nelvāyppalli or Nelluvāyppalli, *vi*, 31, 41, 42, 47, 48
 Nelvēli, *vi*, 443, 446, 447, 448, 450, 460.
 Nemmeli, *vi.*, 470
 Nenmalai-nādu, or Nenmai-nādu, *di*, 38, 470, 471
 Nēniyai, *s a* Chōla, 446.
 Nerumam, *vi*, [8]n, 225, 226, 293, 307
 Nēivāyil, *vi*, 38, 41, 43
 Nettū, *vi*, 206, 218
 nibandha, nibandam or nivanda, *expenses or arrangements*, 25, 272, 273, 274, 275, 285, 307, 312
 Nichchayāvāsagan, flower-garden of, 216.
 Nicobar Islands, [21], 195
 Nidubōlu, *vi*, 179, 180, 181
 Nigaril-Chōla, *sur of* Rājēndia-Chōla I., [22].
 Nigaril-Śōla-nādu, *di*, 39.
 Nilaganga, *ch*, 89
 Nīlagangan Achchalaviman Arasār-Talaivan, *ch.*, 120.

Nīlagangaraiyan Annāvan Nāttadigal, *m*, 354
 Nīlakandaraivan Annāvan Nāttadigal, *m*, 354
 nīlam, *s a veli*, 97, 101
 Nīlambēi, *vi*, 446, 461
 nīlamudal, *land-register* (?), [12], 300
 nīlavōpādi, *tax*, 311.
 Nīli or Navi (Ravi) Nīli, *Chēra princess*, [13], 235, 236
 nīmandakkārai, *servants*, 48
 Nīmba or Nimbāgrahāra, *s a Vēppattū*, 257, 258.
 Nīmai Nūrenma-bhattan, *m*, 358
 Nīmān, (*measure*), 164
 Nīranāyāna-Bhattan, *m*, 164
 Nīmān Nakkau, *m*, 293
 nīnūrai, *permanent tax*, 427
 Nipunilapūra (*sic* Kuvalālapūra), *s a Kōlāi* 99, 101, 105, 108
 nūrai, *weight=100 palem*, 222
 nīkōvai, *land covered with water*, 479.
 nīkūli, *tax*, 311, 391
 nīl-vīlai, *water-cess*, 143
 nīśadam, nīśadi or nīcheham, *derivation of*, 230n
 Nīśhāda, *family*, 243
 Nīśhādhanājar, *m*, 151
 nīśhka, *gold coin=kakaṇṇu*, 236, 237
 Nīśumbhasūdanī, *goddess*, [7], 386, 418
 Nītta (Nitya) vinōda-chaturvēdimangalam, *vi*, 389, 391, 392, 426, 432, 433, 438
 Nīttavinōda-valanādu, *di*, 8, 111, 427, 428
 Nīttūr, *vi*, 194n, 206, 218.
 nītya, 230n
 Nīvā, *s a. Ponnai*, 23, 88, 90
 Nīyamam, *vi*, [8]
 Nīyama-Māgālam, *vi*, 226n.
 nīyata, 230n
 Nōchchikkaluval, *field*, 435
 Nōlamba, *co*, [4]n
 Nōmbālūr, or Tīnūmbālū, *quarter of Tēvana-palli*, 31, 45, 46
 Nōmūkolli, *land*, 101
 Nōttūr, *vi*, 249, 338
 Nīpasīkhāmani-Mūvēndavēlān, *sur of Tīuch-chinambalam-udayān*, 118
 Nīpasīkhāmani-Vilupparaiyan, *sur of Vēlān Kanapūam*, 139
 Nīpatungamangalappēraraiyan, *m*, 225, 226
 Nīpatunga, Nīpatunga-Vīkāmavāman or Vī-jayā *Ganga-Pallava* k, 8, 90, 92, 93, 99, 449
 Nīpēndra-Sōlan, *sur of Ānaichchēvagan*, 62
 Nūgā, *s a Ponnai*, 23, 24, 25, 26
 Nūlamba, *du*, 64, 68.
 Nūlambādhīrājar, *m*, 213.
 Nūlamba Māyilattī, *sur of Śāndiran Elunūruvan*, *m*, 326, 327, 333, 334, 336, 337, 339, 342, 346, 347, 348, 349, 355, 359, 360
 Nūlamba-pādi, *co*, 5, 6, 7, 11, 15, 24, 30, 59n, 68n, 105, 107.
 Nūlappiyāru, *vi*, 73, 76, 358.
 Nūngambākkam, *vi*, 438.
 Nūmadi, *explained*, [17]n
 Nūmadi-Chōla, *sur. of Rājēndīa-Chōla I*, [17].

O

Ochchēri, *vi*, 329.
 Ōlakkūli, *tax*, 311, 391
 Ōdalpādi, *vi*, 438.

Ōdda, or Ōdda-vishaya, *co*, [19], 388, 422, 425, 469
 Ōdumūkūl Mādhava Bhatta, *m*, 338
 Ōdumūkkibhānta-Kīamavitān, *m*, 6
 Ōlai, *written order*, 41, 47
 Ōlai-Eludum, *Secretary*, 426
 Ōlai-nāyagam, *Chief Secretary*, 289, 292, 301, 307, 308, 312, 390, 427
 Ōlai Virattan, *m*, 234
 Olugavākkam, *vi*, 8n
 Olukarai, *vi*, 269
 Olukkaiyākkam, *s a Olugavākkam*, (Olukarai ?), 8n, 266, 269, 273
 Ōmbālvas, *sect*, 444, 462
 Ōmbattuvēli, *vi*, 250
 Ōnpaduvēli, *s a Ōmbattuvēli*, 252, 253
 Ōragadam, *vi*, 165
 Ōrūkkai, *vi*, 141, 142, 143.
 Ōrūyū, Tīuvōrūyū or Tīuvattiyū, *vi*, [12], [13], [18], 33n, 52, 125, 126, 128, 131, 132, 133, 134, 205, 235, 236, 237, 239, 242, 243, 246n, 251, 294, 295, 337
 Ōrūyūran Pīadīgandavāman, *sur or Malava-raiyan Sundarasōlan*, 476, 477, 479, 480
 ottātū, 241
 Ōvi or Hōvya, *family*, 392, 439
 Ōymā-nādu, *di*, 148, 200, 202

P

padāgai or Pīdāgai, *a hamlet*, 12n, 19, 25
 pādagam, *land measure*, 177, 204, 247, 249, 256, 257, 300, 344, 349, 360
 Pādagam, Tīuppādagam or Tīruppādagatt-Ālvān, *s a Pāndava-Perumāl*, 140, 143, 163, 164
 padakku, *grain measure*, 113, 118, 151, 189, 190, 227, 229, 273, 275, 282, 307, 308, 311, 312, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 382, 472.
 padahgai, *a belei-leaf plate*, 11
 pādāmūlam, 138n, 250
 pādi, *a quarter*, 268
 pādīkāppānāñjey, *the wet land of the village watchman*, 46
 padimāru, *customary scale*, 381.
 Padinettanādu-kīlavan, *sur of Tīrvēngadavan Sāman* 151
 Pādini-kalam, *lund*, 57
 Padmā, *s a Lakshmī*, 464.
 padugan, *part of a jewel*, 475.
 padutagu, 337n
 Paduvū-kōttam, *di*, 30, 89, 94, 95, 96, 102, 104, 105, 107, 108, 111, 232, 329
 Paduvūr-nādu, *di*, 261, 262, 356, 362, 363
 Pagadi, 6
 Pagavan Angi, *m*, 428, 429, 438
 Pāgū-nādu, *di*, 2, 3, 138
 Parthan, *vi*, 383
 Pāyan Tīruvūal, *m*, 361.
 Pāyiyū (or Pāyūr) - kōttam, *di*, 118, 139, 365.
 Pākāsāsana, *s a Indra*, 448, 460.
 Pākkamballi, *vi*, 139
 Pākkūr, *vi*, 31, 33, 38
 pāl, *near*, 245.
 Pāla, *dy*, [18].
 Pālainellūr, *s a Śrīpādanallūr*, 25, 26

- Pālavāy, *c' onnel*, 280
 Palaiyanū-nādu or Mēlmalai (Mēnmalai)-Palaiyanū-nādu, *di*, 134, 136, 389, 390, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 435, 437, 438
 Palaiyanū, or Palanai, *vi*, 134, 136, 384, 389, 390, 391, 392, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 434, 435, 437, 438
 Palaiyanū Amma, *s a* Ammayappa, 384
 Palaiya-vēlam, *quarter of Tanjore*, 382, 383
 Palaiyūra or Palayū, *vi*, 389, 425
 Palakuura-kōttam, *di*, 89n, 119, 220, 230
 palam, *weight*, 151, 189, 222, 282, 299, 317, 382, 475
 Palambang, *co*, [21], 466
 Palanakkudi, *vi*, 293
 Pālāru, *ri*, 88, 143n, 233n
 palasavi, 297
 Pālāsiriyan, *m*, 277
 Pālāsiriyan Dāmōdinaa Bhāskara-Bhattan, *m*, 318
 Pālāsiriyan Ilakkuvanai (Lakshmana) Kūttapan, *m*, 155
 Pālāsiriyan Nārāyanan Vadugan, *m*, 318
 Pālāsiriyan Śāttan Kān, *m*, 277
 Palavāvu, 260
 Palavēu, *town*, 101
 Pālāikkaluvai, *sur of Amanambōgam*, 365.
 Pālī, *vi*, 446, 460
 pālīkai, 299
 palisā, palisai or polisai, *interest*, 9n
 pallakkaluvai *low land*, 288
 Pallava *dy*, [3], [4]n, [5], [6], [7], [8], [9], [10]n, [15] 2n, 33, 49, 52, 56, 57n, 59n, 68n, 51, 134n, 187, 221, 223, 226, 228, 268n, 284, 288, 373, 375, 386, 419, 443, 444, 446, 447, 448, 449, 457, 460, 461
 Pallavabhaṇṇana, *sur of Rājasimha I.*, 442, 446
 Pallavaiya-peruvāyikkāl, *sur. of Kayakkāl*, 111
 Pallavamalla, *sur of Nandivarman*, [6], 15n, 49, 243, 260, 448
 Pallavan, *title*, 55
 Pallavanāna (or nārayana)-vadi, *path*, 324, 336, 341, 342, 353, 360
 Pallavan Brahmādarāyan, *sur of Kēsuvaian*, 350
 Pallavan Brahmādarāyan, *m*, 329
 Pallavappēraiyai, *m*, 254
 Pallāvaram, *vi*, 125, 126, 131, 133n, 179
 Pallavatilaka, *family*, [8], 226, 227
 palli, *a jain temple*, 224, 230, 427
 palli, *tax*?, 428
 Palli-chanda, 289, 291, 389, 427, 462, 480
 Palli-eluchchi, 349, 370
 Palli-padai, *a tomb-shrine*, [9], 24, 387
 Pālmutti, *land*, 245
 Paluvettaiyai, *ch*, [12], [13]
 Paluvū, *vi*, 64
 Paluvū, *see* Kilappaluvū
 Palyāgasālai-Mudukudumi-Peruvaludi, *Pāndya k*, 446
 Pal-yānai-kōkkandan, *explained*, 221
 Pāmbuni-kūrram, *di*, 30, 111, 216, 232, 427, 428.
 Pāmbūr-nādu or Vadagarai Pāmbūr-nādu, *di*, 234, 245, 276, 278, 284, 377, 378, 383.
 Panaicheṇṇupattu, *land*, 379.
 Panaikkudi, *vi*, 38
 Panaiyandañjēri, *vi*, 70
 Panaiyū, *vi*, 254
 Panaiyū-nādu or Tenkairai Panaiyūr-nādu, *di*, 38, 39, 41, 43, 117, 254, 438
 panaiyū-dūmbu, *palmyra sluice*, 17
 Pañchāchāya, 138, 158
 Pañchanadēsvara, *shrine and temple*, 21n, 52
 Pañchanadi (Pañchanedi) Lakshmanan Malai-giniyanirān, *m*, 86, 88
 Pañchanedi Tirukkannapuram-Udayān, *ch*, 162
 Pañchapa *mythical solar k*, [4], 385, 415
 Pañchapāndavamalai, *vi*, [n].
 Pañchappalli, *vi*, [19], 468
 Pañchava, *s a* Pāndya, 144n, 147, 385n, 446, 460
 Pañchavan-Mahādēvi, *queen of Rājendra-Chōla I.*, [21].
 Pañchavāra 307, 311, 312, 329, 367, 381
 Pañchavāra-vāiyam, *committee*, 327, 329
 pandārakkal, *gold weight*, 295
 Pāndavadūta, *s a* Kīrṣṇa, 190n
 Pāndavadūta-Kīamavittan, *m*, 190
 Pāndava or Pāndavadūta-Perumāl, *te*, 140, 163, 164n
 Pāndavas, the five, 144n, 164n, 385, 416
 Pāndi-Kodumudi, Pāndikkodumudi or Tiruppāndikkodumudi, *s a* Kodumudi, 31n, 446.
 Pāndi (or Pāndya) kulāsani-valanādu, *di*, 117, 168, 171, 438
 Pāndi-nādu or Pāndi (Pāndya)-mandalam, *the Pāndya country*, 15, 33, 36, 147, 159n, 450
 Pāndi-Perumbanaikkāian, *m*, 445, 465
 Pandita-Chōla, *sur of Rājendra-Chōla I.*, [22], 127
 Pandita-Śōla-terinda-villigal, *equiment*, 127
 Panditavatsala, *biruda of Parāntaka I.*, [13]
 Panditavatsala, *biruda of Parāntaka Neduñjadaiyan*, 446.
 Pāndiāyitturai, *foia*, 287
 Pāndiyambākkam, *vi*, 138
 Pāndiyanai-churam-irakkina, *epithet of Sundara-Chōla*, [14]
 Pāndiyanai-irumadi-venkanda-Śōla-chaturvēdi-mangalam, *sur. of Manimangalam*, 49, 73, 74, 76, 78, 81, 83, 85
 Pāndiyāṇai (or rāyan) *m*, 213, 217
 Pāndubhūmandala, *vi*, [22]
 Pāndya or Pāndu, *dy*, [1], [2], [4], [5], [7], [8], [10], [11], [12], [14], [15], [16], [18], [19], [20], [21], 14, 24n, 28, 29, 33, 37, 43, 44, 46, 49n, 52, 55n, 56, 57, 59, 64, 68n, 72, 81, 83, 84, 119, 128, 129, 130, 140, 142, 144, 146, 147, 176, 185, 193, 194, 197, 199n, 203, 205, 206, 212, 215, 218, 219, 231, 232, 255, 267n, 294, 324, 326, 327, 330, 332, 337, 349, 350, 355, 359, 360, 361, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 385n, 386, 387, 388, 390, 418n, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 430, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 456n, 457n, 459, 460, 461, 462, 464, 465n, 468, 473, 474, 475.
 Pāndyādhnāja, *title*, 446.
 Pāndyas, the five, [4], 130, 144n.
 Pāndyakulāntaka, *sur. of Vīrañjendra I.*, 198.

Pangala, *s a* Bengal (?) 57n
 Pangala-nādu, *di* 89, 229, 230, 438
 Pangalar, *people*, 57
 Pangalattaiayan, *m*, 45
 Pangan Kadamban, *m*, 293
 Pāni, *a country*, 147
 Panmaichchēri, *different quarters*, 372.
 Pannai, *vi*, [21], 469
 Panriyū-nādu, *di*, 234
 Pappālam or Māppappālam, *vi*, [21], 195, 469
 Pappāla, *vi*, 195
 Parabumigan Mallan, *m*, 228
 Parachakrakōlāhala, *sur of* Śīf-Māra, 443, 446, 459
 paradai, parudai, mūlaparudai, parushai or parishad, *assembly*, 216n, 229, 245, 260, 275, 276, 284, 377, 383
 parakkānam, 391.
 Parakēsari, *Chōla title*, 356, 385, 416
 Parakēsari, *sur. of* Pārthivēndiavarman, [15], 356
 Parakēsarin, *mythical Chōla k*, 385, 416
 Parakēsari-Mūvēndavēlan, *sur of* Kodukulavan Śāttan, *m*, 292, 300, 307, 308, 312
 Parakēsarivarman, *Chōla k*, 1, 8n, 31n
 Parakēsarivarman, *sur of* Adhūājēndiadeva, 113, 114, 115, 117, 129, 190, 192, 197
 Parakēsari or Parakēsarivarman, *sur. of* Āditya II, [15], [16], 21, 262, 263, 278, 279, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383
 Parakēsarivarman, *sur of* Ariñjaya, 263, 264, 279
 Parakēsarivarman, *sur of* Kulōttunga I, 192n
 Parakēsarivarman, *sur of* Kulōttunga III, 43, 205, 210, 212, 215, 219
 Parakēsarivarman, *sur of* Parāntaka I, [7], [9], [10], 18, 19, 221, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 259, 266, 267, 275, 279, 289, 292
 Parakēsarivarman, *sur. of* Rājaraja II, 79, 81, 191, 207
 Parakēsarivarman, *sur of* Rājādhnājadēva II, 207
 Parakēsarivarman, *sur. of* Rājēndia-Chōla I, 15, 16, 27, 28, 107, 108, 111, 132, 429, 465, 468
 Parakēsarivarman, *sur of* Rājēndradēva, 32, 39, 41, 42, 52, 53, 58, 63, 112, 131n, 191, 192
 Parakēsarivarman, *sur of* Uttama-Chōla, [14]n, [15], [16], 8, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 272, 274, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 293, 294, 295, 297, 298, 299, 300, 308, 311.
 Parakēsarivarman, *sur of* Vijayālaya, [7], 17, 18, 19, 266, 267, 273
 Parakēsarivarman, *sur of* Vikrama-Chōla, 75, 76, 179, 181, 182, 186, 189
 Parakēsarivarman, (sic) *sur of* Vīraājēndra I, 192n
 Parakēsariviluppaiayan, *sur of* Nandīśuran, 295
 Parakēsari-Viluppērarayan, *m*, 318
 Parākkramabāhu or Parākkamabāhu I, *Ceylon k*, 59n, 206
 Parākrama-Pāndu, *Ceylon k*, 53
 Parākrama-Pāndya, *Pāndya k*, 206
 Parama, 474, 475.
 Paramamahārāja Rājamāyā, *s a* Pārthivēndriavarman, [15]
 Paramasvāmin, *god*, 276, 278.

Paramēsvara, *s a* Śiva, 91, 94, 96, 97, 98, 100, 101, 231, 247, 249, 285, 376, 378, 423, 477, 479
 Paramēsvara, *title*, 423n, 445, 446
 Paramēsvara Arangan, *ch*, 307
 Paramēsvaran Kunian, *m*, 310
 Paramēsvara-vadi, *path*, 325, 334, 336, 338, 339, 340, 344, 349, 350, 355, 360
 Paramēsvaraivaiman I, *Pallava k*, 56n
 Paramēsvaraivaiman II, *Pallava k*, 187
 Paramēsvara-vāykkāl, *channel*, 256
 Paramēsvara-vinnagatam, *s a* Vaikuntha-Perumāl, 187
 Parāñjōdi Nilan, *m*, 307
 Parāñjōdi Pattālagan, *m*, 293
 Parānkuśa, *sur of* Rājasinha I, 443, 446, 447, 448, 460
 Parāntaka I, *Chōla k*, [6], [7], [8], [9], [10], [11], [12], [13], [14], [15], [16], [18], 1, 2n, 17n, 18, 19, 43n, 62n, 92, 106, 196, 221, 228, 229, 230, 231, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 241, 242, 244, 246, 248, 250, 257, 259, 266, 267, 268n, 279, 288, 289, 318n, 327, 386, 387, 419, 441, 449
 Parāntaka II, *Chōla k*, [3], [4], [14], [15], [16], 62n, 196, 255, 256, 258, 263, 265n, 375, 379, 383, 387, 419, 478
 Parāntaka, *m*, 377
 Parāntaka or Parāntaka Śadaiyan, *sur of* Vīra-nārāyana, 443, 444, 446, 447, 449, 457, 459, 461, 462
 Parāntaka or Parāntakasaiman, *m* 442, 443, 444, 453, 459, 462
 Parāntaka-chatuvēdimangalam, *sur of* Kurattū, 357, 358
 Parāntakachchēri, *quarter*, 177
 Parāntakadēvan, *Chōla prince*, 62
 Parāntaka Ilangoṇvēr, *s a* Maduraiantaka Ilangoṇvēr, 249, 250, 263
 Parāntaka Mūvēndavēlan, *sur of* Śīringanudaiyān Kōyilmayilai, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382
 Parāntakandēvi-Ammanār, *queen of* Gandarāditya, [15]n
 Parāntaka Neduñjadaiyan, *Pāndya k*, 441, 442, 446, 447, 448, 449
 Parāntakan Śūryavēlār, *see* Śūryavēlār
 Parāntakavaiman, *Kodumālār ch*, 285
 Parāntaka-vāykkāl, *channel*, 249
 Parasurāma, *sage*, [1], 28, 388, 422, 423, 468
 Paravaikkudi, *vi*, 309, 310
 Paravas, *people*, 446
 parihāra, *privilege*, 307, 308, 391, 436
 Pārjāta, *tree*, 458
 Pārjātavanēsvara, *te*, 465
 parisattam, *sacred cloth*, 299
 parivāra, *servant*, 242
 parivārālaya, *the surrounding veranda of a temple*, 24n.
 Pārkkuttai, *land*, 101
 Parpanedi, *land*, 317
 parru, *a bundle*, 222, 317, 382
 Pārthivachūdāmani, *mythical solar k*, 385, 415.
 Pārthivēndra, Pārthivēndra-Mahārāja, Pārthivēndriavarman, Pārthivēndrādriavarman, or Pārthivēndrādhivaiman, *k*, [15], 106, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 329, 330, 332, 333, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346,

347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361 to 375
 Partma, *s a* Pāthivēndia, 323, 362.
 Pāthivēndia Ādityavarman, *s a* Pārthivēndra-varman, [15], 333, 334
 Paruttikkudī, *vi*, 292, 307, 312
 Pārvatī, *goddess*, 168, 171n, 413, 476
 Pāyāru, *s a* Pālāru, 233
 paśān *or* paśānam, *see* pisān
 Pāschātyagiri, *s a* Mēmmalai, 389, 425.
 Paśumburam, *vi*, 168
 Paśupatiśvara, *te*, 30, 39
 Patāiañ-Chōla (Chōlai), *m*, 443, 459, 462.
 Pattaiyanār, *m*, 364, 365
 Pattālam, *vi*, 373, 374
 Pattanakki, *f.*, 318
 Pattana-nādu, *di*, 360, 361,
 Pattan Parpanābban Gōvīdan, *m*, 284
 Pattan Perrān, *m*, 159.
 Pattan Sikkālī, *m.*, 438
 Pattaṅganāyaka-Picchan, *sur. of* Ādavallān, 472, 473
 Pattaśāln *or* Pattaśāliyan, *a class of weavers*, 265, 268, 272
 Pattaya-Kīamavittar, *m*, 388
 patti, *measure of land*, 21, 83, 91, 104n, 273, 274, 354.
 pattiṅai, 262
 Pattinappālai, *Tamil work*, [2], [4]n, 418n
 pattinaśēri, 391
 Pattiyanan, *ch*, 68
 Pattiyyūr, *vi*, 158
 pattōlai, *office*, 289, 293, 301, 312, 390, 428, 429.
 pattudaiyān, *a priest*, 227
 Paulōmī, *s a* Śachī, 458
 Pāvaiturai, *channel*, 58
 Pavanandī (Bhavanandin), *author of Nannūl*, 122
 Pavittināmānikka, *road*, 154.
 Pavvattinī, *vi*, 293, 308, 312
 Pāvū, *vi*, 138n
 Payalai, *vi*, 292.
 Pāypaduttān, *stone*, 42
 pendātti, *a maid-servant*, 245, 383
 Pennāgam, *vi*, 444, 446, 450, 461.
 Pennār, *vi*, 448, 449
 Pērānan Vīranāyānan, *m*, 231.
 Pēranaistū, *vi.*, 293, 308, 312
 Pērāvū-nādu, *di*, 427, 428, 438
 Pērayan Tribhuvanasundarī, *f*, 383
 Periyakōttai, *vi*, 450
 Periyakudaiyūr, *vi.*, 38
 Periyālūr, *vi*, 446, 448
 Periya-Nāchchiyār, *s a*. Vandārkulal-Nāchchi-yār, 384
 Periyapuānam, *Tamil work*, [2], [3], 33n, 165, 386, 418n
 periyaputtēri, *tank*, 51.
 periya-sēndu-vāyil, *the great hippodrome gate*, 15.
 Periyatirumoli, *portion of Nāḷāyiraprabandham*, 187, 447n
 Perrān Ādittan, *m*, 5, 6
 perumakkal, *great men*, 9n, 256
 Perumāl, *a king*, 375
 Perumānadigal, *god*, 3, 6, 232, 254, 256, 325, 330, 332, 334, 339, 348, 355, 360, 369.

Perumānadigal *or* Śōla-Perumānadigal, *s a*
 Parūtaka I, [10], 228, 229, 231, 232, 236, 237, 238, 239, 241, 318n
 Perumān Ambalattādī, *m*, 429, 437.
 Perumbākkam, *vi*, 198, 199
 Perumbāna-pādi, *di*, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28, 89, 108, 113, 114, 117, 119, 120
 Perumbaniappuliyūr, *s a*. Chidambaram, 151, 212, 214, 216
 Perumbēi *or* Perumbēiur, *vi*, 125, 173, 174, 177, 193, 202, 204.
 Perumbidugu-Muttaiayan I, *h*, [7], 441n.
 Perumbidugu-Muttaiayan II, *h*, 441n
 Perumbuliyūr-nādu, *di*, 138.
 Perumpattanam, *vi*, 360, 361
 Perumūr, *vi*, 391, 430
 Perumū-nādu *or* Naduvilmalai (Naduvimmalai)
 Perumū-nādu, *di*, 390, 427, 428, 430, 432, 434, 436, 437
 Pernallū, *vi*, 212
 Perunavadi, *road*, 57, 75
 Perumat(nai)killi, *Chōla h*, [3], [4], 356, 417
 Perunāyagan, *m*, 232
 Perundaiam *or* Perundanam, *title*, 111, 230, 231, 246, 247, 248, 249, 251, 364, 365
 Perundēvanār, *commentator*, 197
 Perungākkū, *vi.*, 462
 Perun-Timiri-nādu, *di*, 89
 Pērūr, *vi*, 31, 46, 51
 Pērū-nādu, *di*, 31
 peru-vai, *tar*, 168
 Picchan Ambalakkūttan, *m.*, 118
 Picchankōyil, *vi*, 300, 307
 Picchupākkam, *vi*, 438
 Pīlāi, *s a* Bhattārikā 9, 11, 136, 138, 226n, 319, 479
 pidi, *oram and liquid measure*, 286, 383
 Pīdiligai, 310, 436
 Pīkū, *vi*, [6]
 pīlavu, 266, 274
 Pīlivalai, *Nāga prince*, [3].
 pillai *or* pillaiyār, *a prince*, 234, 236, 237, 246, 247, 248, 268
 pillaigolli, *channel*, 171
 Pillaipālayam, *quarter*, 268
 Pillavār, *s a* Ganapati, 322, 470 471
 Pippnai, *vi*, 177
 Pnadigandan, *sur of* Malavaiyan Sundarasōlan 476, 477
 Pnamadēvan (Brahmadēva), *ch*, 68
 Pirāndūr, *vi*, 71.
 Pirāntakan Irungōla, *sur of* Śrīyavēlāi, 255, 256, 257
 Pirāntakan-Mādēvadigalār, *see* Udayapirāttiyāi-Mādēvadigalār
 pirāy, *tree*, 431.
 Pirayapākkam, *vi*, 134.
 pisān, *pisānam*, *paśān or* *paśānam*, *harvest*, 171, 229, 308
 Pītāmaha, *s a* Brahmā, 458.
 Pithāpuram, *vi*, 125, 127, 128, 130, 131, 156n, 178, 179, 180, 181
 Pōdmangalam, *vi.*, 475.
 Podiyil *or* Podiyam, *mo.*, 130, 144, 147, 168n, 464n
 Polikkāvadi, *land*, 105, 106.
 Pōlipākkam, *vi.*, 391, 435.
 poliyāttu, 236, 272.

pon, *gold coin or money*, 228, 273, 332, 357, 363, 374
 pōnagam, *sumptuary allowance*, 221, 316
 Ponnalai-Śiva, *m*, 253
 pou-māligai, *the dancing hall of Natarāja at Chidambaram*, 288
 pon-māligai, *a golden hall*, 288, 291
 Ponnāligattuñjinadēva, *s a* Sundara-Chōla, [14], [15], 255, 288, 476
 Ponnai, *vi*, 23
 Ponnāli Arabattuvān, *m.*, 29
 Ponnambalam, *a* Kanakasabhā, 185n.
 Ponnūri, *vi*, 237.
 Ponnai, *s a* Kāvēri, 142, 146, 176, 444, 450, 461
 Ponpadukuttam, *vi*, 96, 97
 Ponparai, *s a* Ponpetti, 197
 Ponpetti, *vi*, 197
 Poonamalli, *vi.*, 448.
 ponikkari, 317, 382
 Porkōyil-Nambi, *sur of* Eduttapādām Inburi-rundān, 158.
 Porikkuri Brahmapāyan, *m*, 20
 Porikkuri Kāldēvadi, *m*, 17
 Porunguniam, *vi*, 85
 pottagam, *tax-register*, 81n, 300
 Pottappi, *vi*, 33, 37
 Pottappi or Pottappi-nādu, *di*, 33n, 193.
 Pattaya-Kiamavittai, *m*, 338
 Pottayan, *ch*, 37 and *add*
 Poygai, *vi*, 208
 Poygai-nādu, *di*, 186, 249, 250.
 Poygaipākkam, *vi*, 118
 Poygaiyār, *Tamil poet*, [2], [3].
 Poygaiyālvār, *Vaishnava saint*, 186, 189
 Poyyir-kāriam, *di*, 243
 Prabhākara or Prabhākara-guru, *author*, 376.
 Prabhākaram, *work*, 377
 piāmāna, *a document*, 155
 piāsasti, 271, 384, 418n, 439, 443, 459
 piastha, 265, 266, 268, 272
 Pratiṣṭhā (Prithivīpati)-Aiaiyar, *s a* Prithivīpati I, *ch*, 98, 99, 100, 101
 Prithivīpati I, *W. Ganga k*, [8], 88, 99, 100, 449
 Prithivīpati II, *Ganga-Bāna k*, [4]n, [9], [10], [12], 26n, 92
 Prithivīyāghra, *Nishāda ch*, 243
 Prithu, *mythical k*, [4], 385, 414
 Prithulāksha, *mythical solar k*, [4], 385, 415
 Prithviśvara, *Velanādu ch*, 180.
 Ptolemy, [1], 31
 pū, *a crop*, 227, 229
 pudānāli, pudānāli or pitānāli, *tax*, 311, 391, 436
 Pudānkōdu, *vi*, 446.
 Pūḍattālvār, *Vaishnava saint*, 186, 189.
 pudavai, 212n, 273, 306
 Pūdi or Maravan Pūdiyār, *m*, 262
 Pūdi Ādichecha (Āditta)-pūḍānyār, *Chōla queen*, 228, 229, 257, 262, 263
 Pūḍipākkansēruvu, *land*, 368.
 Pūdi Parāntakan, *s a* Parāntakavaiman, 285.
 Pūdi Tuuvorriyār-Adigal, *m*, 438.
 Pudukkudi, *vi*, 171
 Pudukkulam, *tank*, 477, 479
 pudukkuppanam, 224, 320
 Puduppākkam, *vi*, 289, 292, 293
 Pūḍuvēli-gōpuram, *Buddhist temple*, [2].
 Pūḍuvār, *vi.*, 281, 282

Pugalchōla-Nāyanār, *Śaiva saint*, [3].
 Pugalīyū, *vi*, 446
 pugai mādu vilanga, *introductory words of the inscriptions of Kulōttunga I*, 126, 172
 pugai-sūlnda punari, *introductory words of the inscriptions of Kulōttunga I*, 125, 174.
 Pugalvippiragandan Avaniyallan, *sur of* Liun-gōlakkōn, 376
 Pulai or Polai, *vi*, 76n, 133
 Pulai (or Pular)-kōttam, *di*, 76, 117, 132, 134, 239, 287, 351, 358, 373
 Pulalēnikil-nādu, *di*, 239
 Pulai-nādu, *di*, 132, 133, 134
 Pulāngudi, *vi*, 117 and *add*
 Pulidikkālnettai, *vi*, 364
 Pulikēsin, *ch*, 58, 63
 Pulikēsin, II, *W. Chalukya k*, 49
 Pulikkunram, *vi*, 25, 26
 pulingarai, 317, 382
 Pulivalam (or vala)vāy, *channel*, 326
 Pūiyambūndi-ndaiyār, *m*, 216
 Pūiyān, *s a* Pāndya, 446, 460
 Pūiyangudi, *vi*, 344
 Pūiyāñ-eruvu, *land*, 18
 Pūiyāśivan, *m*, 346
 Pūiyūr, *vi*, 49n, 133, 446
 Pūiyur-kōttam, *di*, 49, 86, 88, 118, 133, 134, 251, 253, 358, 368, 429, 437, 438.
 Pūiyūr-nādu, *di*, 39, 438
 Pullamangalam, *vi.*, 444, 450, 462
 pullandi, *tree*, 435
 pulli, 50, 222n, 233n, 237n, 243n, 259n, 263n, 323, 370n, 382n, 476n
 pulukku, *boiled curry*, 317
 Pulvāyppāppān-Kulattai, *vi*, 75, 77
 pū-mādu-punai, *introductory words of the inscriptions of Vikrama-Chōla*, 178, 180, 181
 pū-mālai-midaindu, *introductory words of the inscriptions of Vikrama-Chōla*, 178, 181, 186
 pū-maruvaiya tirumādumu, *introductory words of the inscriptions of Rājārāja II.*, 207.
 pū-mēl aivaiyūm, *introductory words of the inscriptions of Kulōttunga I*, 125
 Punappūliyan, *title of* Parāntaka Neduñjadaiyan, 446.
 Pūnāri u-anai, *dam*, 477, 479.
 Pūḍanmalai, *s a* Poonamalli, 448
 Pundavattanam, (Pundravardhana), *vi*, 190
 Pūndi, *vi*, 39
 Pūngudi, *vi*, 307, 309, 310, 319, 320, 321,
 Punnai Śingan, (Simha), *m.*, 28.
 punnai, *tree*, 151.
 Pūnam, *vi*, 31, 45, 46
 puṇyāha, *ceremony*, 189, 299
 Pūna, *a demon*, 237.
 Purakkūiyūr-nādu, *di*, 117, 438.
 puram, 6n, 20n, 73n, 212n
 Pūḍan Ādittadēvanāi, *m*, 117
 Pūḍanagāma, *s a* Palaiyūra, 389, 425.
 Pūḍanānūti, *Tamil work*, 24n.
 Pūḍānas, [2], 413n, 415n, 417n.
 Pūḍāni, [2], [4], 444
 Pūḍangarambai-nādu, *di*, 241, 295, 465, 469, 470, 471, 473
 Pūḍajaya, *mythical k.*, 384, 413, 414n.
 pūḍānkāval, 445, 465
 Pūḍāntaka, *s a* Śiva, 419.

Purāṇi, *s a*, Śiva, 419
 Puravadiukollai, *land*, 97
 puravari (or puravuvai) tinaikkalam, *office*, 117, 390, 428
 Puravartinaikkalattu kuru, *office*, 117
 Puravartinaikkala - nāyagam, *office*, 162
 puravu, *tax*, 289, 291, 292, 293, 391 465n
 puravuvai, *office*, 289, 293, 301, 307, 308 312
 Puravuvartinaikkalattu-Mugavetti, *office*, 139, 163
 Puravuvai-Vinnagar or Puravuvai-Vinnagar-
 Ālvāi, *s a* Rājagōpāla-Perumāl, 49, 74
 Purisai-nādu, *de*, 136, 292, 293, 438
 Pūru, *mythical k*, 416n, 417n
 Purukutsa, *mythical k*, 415n
 Purūravas *mythical k*, 446
 Purushasūktā, *hymn*, 377n
 Purushōttama, *m*, 392, 439
 Purushōttama, *s a* Vishnu, 439, 445, 464
 Purushōttama-Bhattan, *m*, 82
 pūrvāchāram, 326, 327, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 339, 342, 344, 346, 347, 348, 355, 360, 361, 368, 370, 371
 Pūrvaiāja, 446
 Pūrvāśivan, *sur of* Ādavallān, 472, 473
 Pūsalankudaiyār, *m*, 261
 Pushpaka, *elephant*, 33, 37
 Pushpitāgra, *metre*, 450
 puttakkam, *s a* akkam, 239, 241
 Puttēi, *tank*, 51
 Pūttondai, *m*, 309, 310
 Puttūr, *s a* Thupputtū, 443, 444, 450, 458, 462
 Pūvalū, *vi*, 446
 Puvanmulududaiyāl, *queen of* Kulōttunga-Chōla I, 119.
 Puvanmānikka (Bhuvanamānikya)-Vishnugriham, *te*, 1, 3, 6, 12, 18, 19, 20, 21
 Pūvāniyam, *vi*, 45, 46
 puyal, *introductory words of the inscriptions of* Kulōttunga III, 204

R

Rāghavadēva, *m*, 5 & add
 Rāghavas, *descendants of* Raghu, 421
 Rāghava, *s a* Rāma, 421.
 Raghu, *mythical k*, 425n
 Raghuvamśa, *Sanskrit work*, 425n
 Rājachūlāmani (or Rājasūlāmani)-chaturvēdimangalam, *sur of* Manimangalam, 49, 57, 63, 70
 Rājādhirāja I. or Udayār Śrī-Rājādhirājadēva, *Chōla k*, [16], [20], 1, 32, 38, 49, 51, 52, 53, 57, 58, 59, 62n, 106, 112n, 130n, 192, 194n, 195, 196, 469 470.
 Rājādhirāja, *sur of* Ālavandān, 36n
 Rājādhirāja II, *Chōla k*, 206, 207, 384, 465n
 Rājādhirājarāja, *sur of* Virarājendia I., 65, 70.
 Rājādhirāja- valanādu, *de*, 214, 216
 Rājādichechi, *f*, 6, 258, 259
 Rājādittapuri, *sur of* Tirunāvalū, 198, 199
 Rājāditya, *Chōla prince*, [8], [12], [13], [14], [16], 196, 234, 238, 248, 250, 278, 377, 386, 419
 Rājādityan, *m*, 312
 Rājagōpāla-perumāl, *te*, 31, 49, 151n
 Rājakēsari, *gram and liquid measure*, 27, 29, 117, 139, 171

Rājakēsari-Muvēndavēlār, *sur of* Śāttan Guna-
 battan, 297
 Rājakēsarin or Rājakēsarivarman, *mythical Chōla k*, 385, 416
 Rājakēsarinallū, *vi*, 118
 Rājakēsarinallū-kilavan, *sur of* Kāiāyil Eduttapādam, 14, 15
 Rājakēsariuppēraiyān, *sur of* Pallavappēraiyān, 254.
 Rājakēsarivarman, *Chōla k*, 1, 20, 21.
 Rājakēsarivarman, *Chōla title*, [16].
 Rājakēsarivarman or Rājakēsarin, *sur. of* Āditya I, [8], 2, 3, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 235, 449.
 Rājakēsarivarman, *sur of* Gandarāditya, [14], 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 253, 254, 263, 289
 Rājakēsarivarman, *sur of* Kulōttunga I, 71, 72, 118, 119, 127, 130, 132, 134, 135, 138, 140, 142, 148, 151, 154, 158, 162, 164, 171, 173, 176, 192
 Rājakēsarivarman, *sur of* Rājādhirāja I, 51, 57, 59, 469, 470
 Rājakēsarivarman, *sur of* Rājādhirāja II, 206, 207
 Rājakēsarivarman, *sur of* Rājamahēndra, 113, 114, 190, 191, 192
 Rājakēsarivarman, Rājādhirājakēsarivarman or Rājaiāja-Rājakēsarivarman, *sur of* Rājaiāja I, [16]n, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 15, 24, 25, 26, 29, 30, 49, 50, 51, 101, 102, 104, 105, 107, 476, 477, 479, 480
 Rājakēsarivarman, *sur of* Rājaiāja II, 207
 Rājakēsarivarman, (*sic*) *sur of* Rājēndiadēva, 192n
 Rājakēsarivarman or Rājakēsarin, *sur. of* Parāntaka II, [14], [16], 255, 256, 258, 259
 Rājakēsarivarman, or Rājakēsarivarma-Perumānadigal, *sur of* Virarājendia I, 31, 32, 38, 64, 70, 190, 192, 198, 199, 200, 202, 203
 Rājamahēndra or Rājamahēndriadēva, *Chōla k*, 89, 113, 114, 190, 191, 192, 195n, 196, 204n
 Rājamahēndrian-vadi, *street*, 41, 113, 192
 Rājamalla-Muttaraiyan, *ch*, [17]
 Rājamārāyai, *s a* Parthivēndriavarman, 362, 363
 Rājamātānda-chatu vēdimangalam, *vi*, 366, 367.
 Rājamayan, *ch*, 69
 Rājanārāyana, *sur of* Kulōttunga-Chōla I., 130.
 Rājanārāyana-Muvēndavēlār, *ch*, 213
 Rājanārāyana-Muvēndavēlār, *sur. of* Araiyan Kuditāngi, 163
 Rājanārāyana-Muvēndavēlār, *sur of* Nāganārāyanan, 118
 Rājapradēya, *tax*, 256n
 Rājapura, *vi*, [19], 466
 Rājarāja I or Rājaiājadēva *Chōla k*, [2], [4], [14], [15], [16], [17], [18], [21], [22], 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 14, 15, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 31, 32, 41, 45, 52, 62n, 89, 90, 93, 101, 102, 103, 104, 106, 107, 109n, 126, 127, 130n, 136, 148, 159n, 162n, 164n, 192, 195, 196, 229, 235, 239n, 251, 255, 260, 263, 265, 267, 276, 279, 284, 288n, 365n, 379, 383, 387, 388, 422, 424, 476, 477
 Rājarāja II or Rājaiājadēva, *Chōla k*, 49, 79, 81, 191, 196, 207, 466n, 472, 473.
 Rājarāja III, Rājaiājadēva III or Rājaiājadēva, *Chōla k*, 43, 49, 79 85, 86, 87, 88, 121, 123, 204, 208

Rājaiāja I., *E. Chālukya k*, [21], 127, 128, 196, 435n
 Rājarāja II., *E. Chālukya k*, 128, 131
 Rājaiāja, *E. Ganga k*, 128
 Rājaiāja, *k*, 387, 421
 Rājarāja or Rājādhnāja, *sur of Ālavandān*, 33, 36, 194
 Rājaiāja-Brahmādhīrāyan, *sur of Uttama-Śōlan*, 38, 39, 41
 Rājaiāja-chaturvēdimangalam, *di*, 429, 437
 Rājaiājadēvan, *well of*, 8
 Rājarāja-Kramavittan, *m*, 190
 Rājaiāja-mandalam, *sur of Pāndi-nādu*, 159n
 Rājaiāja-Mūvēndavēlār, *sur of Udayadivākānan Tillaiyāl*, *m*, 427, 428, 438
 Rājaiājan, *ch.*, 41, 43, 163
 Rājaiājan-kāsu, *conv.*, [22]
 Rājaiājan Paramparākshasan, *ch*, 117, 134
 Rājaiājan-Ulā, *poem*, 196n
 Rājaiāja-Pāndikula-valanādu, *di*, 39
 Rājarāja Pāndi-nādu, *ai*, 159, 162
 Rājaiājapūam, *vi*, 164, 168
 Rājarāja Śōliyavaraiyar, *sur of Śankaran Kanda-iādtan*, 114
 Rājarāja valanādu, *di*, 209, 210, 212, 214, 216, 428, 429, 438
 Rājarāja-valanādu, *sur of Pāndi-nādu*, 15.
 Rājarājendra Mūvēndavēlār, *sur of Pūan Ādittadēvanār*, 117
 Rājaiājēśvara, *s. a. Brihadīśvara*, [19]
 Rājaiājēśvara or Rājaiājēśvaramudaiyār, *s. a. Nakulēśvara*, 90, 109, 111
 Rājasikhāman-chaturvēdimangalam, *sur. of Sōmangalam*, 140
 Rājasimha I., *Pāndya k*, 446, 447, 448
 Rājasimha II., *Pāndya k*, 442, 443, 446, 447, 448, 457, 459
 Rājasimha III., Rājasimhavarman or Rājasimha-Pāndya, *Pāndya k*, [10], [12], 231, 441, 443, 444, 446, 449, 458, 461, 462, 463
 Rājasimhakulakkil or Rājasingapperungulakkil, *s. a. Rājasingamangalam*, 443, 444, 450, 459, 462.
 Rājasimhavarman, *Pallava k*, 2n
 Rājasimhēśvara, *te*, 268n
 Rājasingamangalam, *vi*, 450
 Rājāsraya, *sur of Rājaiāja I*, 164n, 195, 388
 Rājāsraya, *sur of Vīrarājendra I*, 195, 199
 Rājāsraya, *street of*, 164
 Rājāsrayapuram, *sur of Mēlpādi*, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 391, 431
 Rājasundara-valanādu, *di*, 163
 Rājasundarī, *queen of the E. Ganga king Rājarāja*, 128n
 Rājasūrya-Brahmamārāyan, *sur. of Vāchchiyan Mahēśvaran, Tnandavān Kurangan*, 216
 Rājasūya, *sacrifice*, 416n, 442, 457
 Rājavallabha-Pallavaraiyar, *m*, 213.
 Rājaviṇṇayābanan, *m*, 293
 Rājendia-bhattar, *m*, 39
 Rājendra (or Udayār sri-Rājendra)-Chōla (or Śōladēva) I., *Chōla k*, [4], [17], [18], [19], [20], [21], [22], 1, 14, 15, 16, 22, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33n, 41, 45, 52, 62n, 69n, 89, 90, 107, 108, 109, 111, 126, 127, 128n, 131, 132, 136, 159, 162, 192, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198,

210n, 265, 304n, 378, 383, 384, 388, 389, 390, 423, 424, 425, 429, 435n 465, 466, 468.
 Rājendra, *sur. of Parāntaka II.*, [13]
 Rājendia-Chōladēva, *s. a. Rājendradēva*, 192n
 Rājendra-Chōla II., (Chōladēva or Chōda II.) or Rājiga, *sur of Kulōttunga Chōla I*, 127, 129, 130, 132, 134, 135, 138, 139, 140, 159, 172, 173, 179, 196, 197
 Rājendra, Rājendiadēva or Vijayarājendra-dēva, *Chōlak*, [2], 30, 31, 32, 39, 41, 49, 52, 53, 58, 59, 63, 65, 89, 111, 112, 113, 131, 156, 190, 191, 192, 195, 196
 Rājendra-Chōla pēteri, *tunk*, 114
 Rājendrasimha (singa)-valanādu, *di*, 162n, 427, 428, 429, 438
 Rājendrasōla-Anukkappallavaraiyan, *sur of Tattan Śēndan*, 427, 429, 438
 Rājendra-Chōla(Śōla)-Brahmamārāya (Brahmamārāyan), *sur. of Krishnan Rāman*, 14, 427, 428
 Rājendra-Śōla, *channel of*, 154
 Rājendrasōla Brahmadhīrājan *sur of Narakkam Mārāyan Jananāthan*, 389, 427, 428, 438.
 Rājendrasōladēva, *see Rājendradēva*, 42
 Rājendra-Śōla-Īśvara, *s. a. Chōlēsvara*, 159, 162.
 Rājendra-Śōlan, *hall of*, 162
 Rājendia-Śōlan *Chōla prince*, 62
 Rājendra-Śōlanallūr, *sur of Āndāyakkudi*, 159, 162
 Rājendiasōlan-kāsu, *conv.*, [22]
 Rājendrasōlappādi, *vi*, 135, 136.
 Rājendra-Śōla(or Chōla)-valanādu, *di*, 73, 76, 118, 198, 199, 200, 470, 471, 473
 Rājiga, *see Rājendra-Chōla II.*
 Rāma, *saint*, 58n, 62n, 421, 444
 Rāma, *ch*, 389, 425
 Rāma, *s. a. Parasurāma*, 388, 422
 Rāmabhatta, *m*, 308
 Rāmanātha, *Hoysala k*, 122n
 Rāmāñña, *the Talang country of Burma*, 195
 Rāmāyana, *Epic*, 444n
 Rāmēsvaram, *island*, 70
 Ramnad, *vi*, 301n
 Ranajaya *Pollava title*, 268n
 Ranajayappādi, *quarter*, 267, 268, 275
 Ranasingavīra, *hall of*, 367.
 Ranastipāndi, *vi*, 126n
 Ranastūa, *k*, [19], 388, 424, 469.
 Ranavikrama-chaturvēdimangalam, *sur of Vannipēdu*, 96
 Ranavīrappādi, *vi*, 336, 347, 348, 349, 359, 360.
 Ranga, *m*, 392, 439
 Ranganātha or Śrīanganātha, *te*, 148, 217, 219.
 Ranganāyaka, *te.*, 33n, 43
 Rānīpēt, *vi*, 95
 Rāṇḍaya, *elephant*, 461n
 rāshtra, *a division*, 459
 Rāshtrakūta, *dy*, [6], [12], [13], [14], 1, 11, 22, 90, 92, 99, 278, 386
 Ratnāgrahāra or Ratnagrāma, *s. a. Manimangalam*, 49, 50, 51, 87
 Rattarāja, *s. a. Jayasimha II*, 424.
 Rattapādi, Irattappādi, Rattapādi, Rattamandalam or Irattamandalam, *seven and a half lakhs*, *co.*, [18], 8, 15, 24, 28, 40, 58, 62n, 63, 64, 65, 69, 111, 112, 193, 194, 195, 203, 388n, 468
 Ratta or Rattarāshtra, *co.*, 195, 204, 388, 422n, 423, 424.

Ravana, *demon*, 421, 442, 444, 457.
 Ravi, *Ūhēra k*, 221n
 Ravi Nīli, *see* Nīli.
 Ravivarman, *Kērala k*, 186
 Rāyakōṭa, *vi*, [6].
 Rēvarasa, *Harhaya k.*, 59
 Rishabhadatta, *m*, 15n
 Rishabhavāhana, *image of*, 168, 171.
 Rishabhavāhana-vāykkal, *channel*, 277.
 Rōhana, *co*, [11]
 Rudra, *god*, 385, 415, 475
 Rudra-Bhattan, *m*, 113
 Rudrajit, *sur of Satyavrata*, 385, 415.
 Rudra-Kiamavittan, *m*, 70
 Rukmini, *goddess*, 278, 279.

S

Sabhai, *sabhā or mahāsabhā, a village assembly*, 2, 17n, 168, 176n, 342, 358, 363, 364.
 Sabhaikūttuvān, *field*, 260.
 Sachī, *goddess*, 460
 Śadanakkaśarman, *m*, 11
 Śadaiyan, *m*, 8, 9, 13
 Śadaiyan Ranadhīra, *Pāndiya k.*, 446, 447.
 Sadayapirān - Bhattasōmayāji, *m*, 444, 462.
 Śadāsivarāya, *Vijayanagara k*, 118n
 śadīram, *a square*, 177n, 249, 280, 281
 Sadras, *vi*, 143
 sadukkam, 247, 249, 256, 257, 300, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 332, 333, 334, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 353, 355, 360, 369, 370, 371
 Śadura-kuli, 332n
 Sagara, *mythical k*, 92
 Sāhanai (or Sāganai), *vi*, 77, 78, 79, 81.
 Sāhanai Bhattaraiyan, *m*, 81
 Sahya, *s a the Western Ghats*, [8], 144, 147n, 423
 Śaibya, *race*, 416n.
 Saidapet, *vi*, 73n
 Śailēndriavamsa, *family*, [21]
 Śaiva, [2], [3], [8], [13], [20], [21], 210, 223, 267, 268, 275n, 296, 382
 Śaivism [3], [4]
 Saiyam, *s a Sahya*, 147
 Sakalabhuvanāśaya, *title of Vīrarājēndia I*, 195, 198
 Sakalāthasāgara, *Telugu work*, 376.
 Śakkaikūttu, *dance*, 378
 Śakkara (Chakra or Chakkara)-kōttam, (or kōṭṭa), *s a Chitrakūta (or kōṭa)*, [19], 65, 70, 128, 132, 134, 135n, 140, 142, 146, 175, 193, 194, 202, 466, 468
 Sakkaranallūr, *vi*, 391, 432, 433.
 Sakkasēnāpati, *m*, [11]
 Śakra, *s a Indra*, 425, 459
 Śakuntalā, *wife of Dushyanta*, 416n
 sāla, or sālai, *a feeding house*, 233, 307, 308, 312
 sālābhōga 308, 309, 311, 377.
 Śālai or Kāndālū-Śālai, *vi*, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, 15, 24, 30, 52, 56, 105, 107, 130, 469, 470
 Śālikanātha, *teacher*, 376.
 Śālīnī, *metre*, 450.
 Śāliya, *the weaver class*, 268.

Śalukki, *s a Chalukya*, 57, 58, 63, 65, 68, 69, 161n, 203, 204
 Sāmanta or Mahāsāmanta, *a feudatory chief*, [22], 20, 21, 37, 202
 Samaiābhurāma, *Kodumbālūr ch*, [15], 257.
 Śambāhu, *s a Śiva*, 418
 Sangama I, *Vijayanagara k*, 8
 Sangama II, *Vijayanagara k*, 207n
 Samgrāmaṇḍīyayōttungavaiman, *Katōn, a. k*, [20], 469
 Śamkara or Śankara, *s a Śiva*, 185n, 425
 Śamkaradēva, *see* Tiruvaiyan Śamkaradēva,
 Śamkara-Kiamvittan, *m*, 111.
 Śamkaranāyana-vadi, *road*, 5
 Śamkaranāyana-Bhattan, *m*, 168
 Śamkaran Kandarādittanār, *ch*, 114.
 Samkrānti, 273, 279, 299
 Śamkrānti Uttaiyana, 267, 275
 Sāmkriti, or Sānkriti, *mythical k*, 385, 416n.
 Samkshēpasārīaka, *work*, [9].
 Śāmundan Murti, *m*, 234
 Samvatasaiavānyam, *annual supervision*, 19, 327, 329.
 Samvatasaiavānya-Perumakkal, *Committee of*, 9, 17.
 sān, *a scan*, 17, 288.
 Sanakkāl, *field*, 309, 310
 Śānān, *caste*, 268.
 śandai, *a musical instrument*, 319
 Śāndamangalam, *vi*, 155
 Śāndikundil, *field*, 287
 Śāndimat or Śāndimattivu, *island*, [19], 23, 468.
 Śāndi Pālāsiraiyan Vīranārāyanan, *m*, 155.
 Sandiāchcha, *m*, 6 and *add*
 Sandiāchcha-Kiamai, *m*, 6
 Śāndian Arunuruvan, *m*, 332
 Śāndian or Śāndian Elunūruvan, *m*, 326, 327, 333, 334, 336, 337, 339, 342, 346, 347, 348, 349, 355, 359, 360
 Śāndian Vishnubhattan, *m*, 300
 San-fo-tsai, *s a Palanbang*, [21], 466.
 Śāngam, *the Tamil academy*, [2], 441, 443, 445, 460
 Śāngamayan, *ch*, 52, 56
 Śāngappādikilān, *m*, 291, 292, 293.
 Śāngappai, *queen*, 59, 63
 Śāngili-Kanadarāva, *vi*, 39.
 Śāngīamāiāghava, *sur. of Paṇṭaka I.*, [10], 231.
 Śāni-mandapa, 426
 Śankara, *m*, 389, 426
 Śankarāchāriya, *Advaita teacher*, [9]
 Śankaramangai, *vi.*, 443, 446, 447, 448, 450, 460.
 Śankarappādi, *Saiva quarter*, 30, 135, 136, 267, 275
 Śānkha, *the conch*, 420.
 Śānnamandai-Kramavittan, *m.*, 247.
 Saptamātris, 367, 368.
 Śāra-nādu, *dr*, 438.
 Sarasvatī, *goddess*, 413
 Sarasvatī-vāykkal, *channel*, 349, 370.
 Śārādūlavikrīdita, *metre*, 450.
 Sarkuri Tiruvadigal, *m.*, 327.
 Sarva, *s a Śiva*, 420.

Sarvâdittan, *m.*, 168
 Sarvajñâtman, *author*, [9]
 Śasabindu, *mythical k*, 415n
 Śāsâda, *sur. of Vikukshi*, 413n.
 Śaśikula-Chālukki, *title*, 208
 Śâstâ, (Śâttan) *or Mahâśâstâ*, *s a* Aiyânâi, 9, 11, 137, 343, 344
 Śâstîâs, 446, 457
 Satakîatu, *s a* India, 458
 Śatapatha Brâhmana, 416n
 Śâtapattîr, *vi*, 237
 Śathagôpa, *s a* Nammâlvaî, 2, 148, 151n, 186
 satî, [15], [21], 420n
 Śatrubhayamkara, *elephant*, 63
 Śâtta-ganattar, *assembly of*, 10.
 Śâttamangalam, *vi*, 141, 143
 Śâttan, *see* Śâstâ
 Śâttan Brahmakuttan, *m*, 344
 Śâttangudi, *vi*, 210, 212
 Śâttan Gunabattan, *m*, 297
 Śâttanû, *vi*, 293
 Śatti, *king of the Kâdaras*, 185n
 Śattikumâra-Kramavittan, *m*, 4
 Sattiyanan, *ch*, 68
 Sattiyavai, *queen*, 59, 63
 sattuvam, *a ladle*, 241
 Satyâśîaya, *W. Chalukya k*, [17], 387, 421.
 Satyavrata, *mythical solar k*, 385, 415
 Saundararâja Perumâl, *te*, 139
 Śaurâśhtraka, 385n, 388, 422
 Śâvândi Nâîanan (Nârâyana), *m*, 155
 Śâvândi Nâîâyanan Mâran, *m*, 155
 Śedirû, *vi*, 3
 śêgandigai, *a musical instrument*, 273, 319
 Śeliya, Śelina *or* Śeliña, *s a* Pândya, 8, 11, 15, 24, 29, 30, 105, 107, 185
 Śeliyakkudi, *vi*, 446.
 Śeliyan Vânavan Sêndan, *s a* Jayantavarman, 446, 447.
 Śelvan Kulaiñân, *m*, 168
 Śelvan Palumadaiyan, *m*, 148.
 Sembâkkam, *vi*, 293, 438
 Śemban Arulan Uttamagîti, *m.*, 308
 Śembarambâkkam, *vi*, 118n
 Śembiyan, *s. a* Chôla, 167, 416n.
 Sembayan, *m.*, 312
 Śembiyan, *title of* Śadaiyan Ranadhîa, 446
 Sembayan, *title of* Parântaka Neduñjadaiyan, 446
 Śembiyanmâdêvi, *flower-garden of*, 310, 321, 322
 Sembayan Iukkuvel, *sur of* Pûdi Parântakan, 285
 Śembiyanmâdêviyâi (Mâdêvadigalâr) *or* Udaiya-pnâttiyâr Śembiyanmâdêviyâr, *queen of* Gandarâditya, [13], 286, 287, 288, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 300, 301, 306, 307, 318
 Śembiyan Mâîâyan, *sur of* Pêranan Vîanâîâyana, 230, 231
 Śembiyan-Pallavaraiyan, *sur of* Kandanîranindân, 117
 Śembiyan Panaiyâr-nâttu-Vêlân, *sur of* Kêśavan Râman, 254.

Śembiyar Sôliyavaraiyan, *m*, [12].
 Śembiyan Sôliyavaraiyan, *sur. of* Mâian Palamêsvaian, 242, 243
 Śembiyan Tamilavêl, *sur of* Vikki-Annan, 221
 Sembayan Uttaramantî, *m*, 293, 307, 308
 Śembiyan Vadapuraiyôrñâttu-Mûvêndavêlâr, *m.*, 286
 semmanatti, *tree*, 433n
 semmanichchai, *tree*, 433, 434
 Sêna, *Ceylon k*, 449n.
 Sênai, *m*, 21, 22
 Sênâpatî, *a general*, 39, 59, 64, 65, 70, 114, 117, 134
 senbagam, *tree*, 392, 437
 Semmarambâkkam, *s a* Sembaramlâkkam, 118.
 Sêndalai *vi*, [7], 441n
 Sêndan=Jayantavarman, 447
 Sêndan Arakkudi, *m*, 308
 Sêndan diyappan, *m*, 237
 Sêndapnânbbhattan *or* Bhâîadvâja-Nâîâyanan
 Sêndapnân-bhattan, *m*, 429, 437
 Sêndarappottan, *m*, 274
 Sêngâdn, *vi*, 49n
 Sêngama, *vi*, 208
 Sêngâttu-kôttam, *di*, 49, 51, 57, 63, 70, 118, 139, 140
 Sêngênî, *family*, 89, 121, 123
 Sêngênî Ammaiyyappan *or* Sêngênî Ammaiyyappan Kannudaiyapperumân, *ch*, 122, 208
 Sêngênî Mindan Attimallan Sambuvarâyan, *ch*, 120, 121, 208
 Sêngôdai, *land*, 319, 320
 Sêngôdn, *vi*, 446.
 Sêngudi, *vi*, 460
 Sêngunra-nâdu, *di*, 118, 119, 199, 200
 Sêngunnam, *vi*, 119
 Sênguttuvan, *Chêra k*, 444
 Sêñji *or* Gingee, *vi*, 68n
 Sêñjiyâi-temi, *hedge*, 434
 Sennadai, *te*, 229, 285
 Senni, *s a* Chôla, 156, 293
 Sennilam, *vi.*, 444, 446, 450, 461
 Senni-Pêraraiyan, *see* Tîran Senni-Pêraraiyar.
 Sennivetti, *tax*, 300
 Senni-yeri-padai, *the warlike army of* Senni, 293
 Senni-yeri-padaichchôlan - Uttamasôlan, *ch*, 293, 294
 Sêrala, *s a* Chêra, 185, 203, 218
 Sêramân, *the Chêra king*, 222
 Sêramânlôka-pperuñjetti, *explained*, 142n
 sêri *or* chei, *a hamlet*, 174, 212, 268, 272, 273, 275
 Sêrkuri Uttaramêru-chatuvêdimangala-uttaman, *see* Teikuri, etc
 Sêrrû-kûrram, *di.*, 222.
 seru *or* seruvu, *land*, 274, 288, 322.
 Sêrupôsan Eluvan, *m*, 364.
 sêrvai, *field*, 280.
 Sêsha, *see* Âdisêsha.
 Sêttamangalam, *vi.*, 426
 Sêtti, *race*, 462.

Śettu Ttiuvadigal, *m.*, 438
 Sētu, *s a* Rāmēsvaram, 70
 Seven Pagodas, *vi*, [6]
 sevidu, *grain and liquid measure*, 11, 113, 118, 151, 189, 241
 Śevilmēdu, *vi.*, 168n, 179, 181.
 Śēvūr, *s a* Chēvūr, 148.
 śey, *land measure*, 245, 247, 250, 256, 264, 300, 327
 Śeyyūr, *vi.*, 193
 Shih-li-lo-cha-yin-to-lo-eh-lo, *s a* Rājēndia-Chōla I., [21].
 Sholinghur, *vi*, 89
 Shore temple, 345n
 Śibi, *mythical solar k*, [4], 385, 416, 423
 Sibis, *s a* Śaibyas, 424
 sidār, 298
 Siddhalngamadam, *m*, [12].
 Siddhāntasāvali, *work*, [24]
 Siddhēsvaramudaya-Mahādēva, *te.*, 297, 298.
 signs of the zodiac —
 Dhanus, 57, 83, 86
 Kanyā, 70
 Karkataka, 239, 241
 Kumbha, 73, 74, 278.
 Makara, 87
 Mēsha, 276
 Simha, 63, 88, 210
 Viśchika, 173, 219
 Śikkal or Śikkil, *vi.*, 266, 269, 273
 Śikkāl-Bhatta, *m.*, 113.
 Śikkar, *vi*, 292
 Śikkā-udayān Pulayan, *m.*, 21
 Śilāhāra family, 57n
 śilā-lēkhā, 267n
 Śilappadigāram, *Tamil work*, [4]n, 379
 sill-irai, *tax*, 143n
 Śillār, *vi.*, 159
 silvar, *tax*, 122n, 143n, 168n
 Simha, *see* Punnai Śingan.
 Simha, Vīra-Nārasimhadēva or Vīra-nārasimha-dēva Yādavarāya, *ch*, 208
 Simhāchalam, *vi*, 126, 159n
 Simhala or Śingala, *s a* Ceylon, 7, 56, 57, 81, 185, 194, 203, 206, 212, 386, 419, 443, 446, 449n, 450, 457, 461
 Simhalāntakachchēri, *quarter*, 177.
 Simhavaiman, *Pallava k*, [6]
 Simhavishnu, *Pallava k*, 134n, 284
 Simhavishnu-chaturvēdimangalam, *sur of* Kañ-janūr, 284
 Simhavishnu-chaturvēdimangalam *sur of* Manal, 134
 Śinachchōlan *title of* Parāntaka Neduñjadayan, 446.
 Sindh or Sindhu, *province*, 57n
 Sindurai, *people of Sindhu*, 57
 Śingalāntaka or Simhalāntaka-chaturvēdimangalam, *vi*, 389, 390, 391, 392, 426, 427, 428, 430, 431, 432, 434, 437
 Śingalāntaka Danmappuriyan, *sur of* Āyiravan Arangan, *m*, 437.
 Śingala Vīra-nāranan, *m*, 373
 Śingamayyan, *m*, 251

Śingan, *king of* Kōśalai, 37
 Śinganam, *co.*, 129, 130, 144, 147, 162n, 164n, 174, 176
 Śinganan, *s a* Jayasimha III, 32, 37, 118, 119, 130, 198, 200, 201.
 Śingan Ariavapaiyan, *m*, 438
 Śingan Chandrasēgayan, *m*, 310
 Śinga-Perumāl, *s a* Narasimha, 87
 Singapura-nādu, *di*, 224, 225, 226, 352, 354
 Singhalese, *people*, [4]n, [10], [11], [12], [15], [18], 206
 Śinnamanūr (Chinnamanur), *vi*, [5], [10], 244, 441, 442, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 463n.
 Śimriyanpākkam, *vi*, 438
 Śira-chakram, *head circlet*, 476
 Śiriyavēlār, Śiruvēlār or Parāntakan (Pirāntakan) Śiriyavēlār, *sur of* Tirukkarrali-Pichchan, [14], [15], [16], 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 476.
 Śirambalam, *s a* Chidambaram, 30, 111.
 Śirāmūr, *vi*, 429, 437
 Śirnavāl, *vi*, 239.
 Śirringan, *vi.*, 307, 377.
 Śirringanudaiyān, Śirringanudaiyān Kōyilmayilai or Kōyilmayilai, *ch*, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382
 Śiriyāirur, *s a* Śittāttūr, 289, 291, 292, 293, 374, 375
 Sirugudi, *vi*, 293.
 Śirukalai, *land*, 480
 Śirukugēsuvā, *land*, 330
 Śirukulattai, *vi.*, [12], 242, 243
 Śirukunja-nādu, *di*, 438
 Śirunānalūr, *m*, 429, 437
 sirupādu or siruvādu, *explained*, 477.
 Sirupaluvu, *see* Kilappaluvu.
 Śiru-Sēvvūr, *vi*, 462.
 Śiruttondanambi, *sur. of* Śivan Tillanāyakan, 470, 471.
 Śitpuli, *ch*, [12], 242, 243
 Śittāttūr, *vi*, 269
 Sittu, *ch*, 69
 Sitturai-tiuvilā, *festival*, 266, 274.
 Śittuvallipperuñjeru, *land*, 274
 Śiva, *god*, [3], [4], [8], [9], [18], 1, 22, 24, 30, 46, 49, 88, 91, 94, 96, 97, 98, 100, 101, 132, 152, 158, 162, 165, 168, 185n, 198, 214, 221, 222, 227, 228, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 239, 242, 243, 244, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 253, 258, 259, 260, 275n, 281, 282, 283, 285, 286, 288, 291, 297, 306, 307, 310, 311, 345, 352, 354, 358, 373, 374, 376, 378, 384, 386, 387, 389, 413, 418, 419, 420, 422, 423, 425, 437, 443, 457, 460
 Śiva-Brahmanas, 48, 88, 94, 97, 103, 104, 113, 120, 253, 329, 438, 471.
 Śivachūdāman, *viruda of* Rājasimhavarmān, 2n
 Śivachūdāmanamangalam, *sur of* Ukkal, 2, 3, 4, 6, 11, 12, 18, 19, 21.
 Śivadāsan Brahmapuriyan, Śivadāsan Āiyāyirattirunūruva (Āyānattirunūruva) Brahmapuriyan, Āiyāyirattirunūruva-Brahmapuriyan or Brahmapuriyan, *m.*, 324, 335, 345, 354, 356, 360, 370, 371.

Śivadēvan, *land*, 317.
 Śivakkolundu-Bhattan, *m*, 113
 Śivakkui Nānenman, *m*, 233.
 Śivamahārāja or Śivamahārāja-Perumānadīgal,
sa, Śivamāra, 98, 99, 100, 101, 104, 108
 Śivamahārāja-Tiuvaiyan, *see* Tiuvaiyan
 Śivamahārāja, *W. Ganga k*, 99.
 Śivan Tillanāyakan, *m*, 470, 471, 472, 473
 Śivapuram, *vi*, 136
 Śivaśaranasēgara-Mūvēndavēlān, *sur of* Kūttan
 Gangaikondān, 472
 Śivaskandavarman, *Pallava k*, [5], [6].
 Śivayōgin, 382, 383
 Śivīndīam, *sa*, Śuchīndīam, 159.
 Śīyamangalam, *vi*, [6]
 Śīyaganga Amalābhāna, *see* Amalābhāna
 Śīyagangan
 Śīyan Puravarinirājanan, *m*, 295
 Skanda, *god*, 161n, 461
 Skandasishya, *Pallava k*, [6], [8]
 Śmasānēśvara, *te*, 117n, 140n
 Śōdiyambākkam, *vi*, 18, 19.
 Śōla *sa*, Chōla, [4]n
 Śōla-Ayōttiyarājan, *sur. of* Parāntakadēvan, 62
 Śōla-Gangan, *sur. of* Madhurāntakan, 62
 Śōla-Janakarāja, *sur of* Kadārakonda Śōlan,
 62
 Śōla-Kannakucheyarājan, *sur. of* Irattapādi-
 konda Śōlan, 62
 Śōla-Kēraladēva, *k*, 187
 Śōla-Kērala-mandalam, *sur of* Kongu, 31, 44, 45,
 46, 62n
 Śōla-Kēralan, *Chōla prince*, 62
 Śōlakēralanallūr, *sur of* Śēvūr, 148.
 Śōlakulasundaran-Vichchādirī Ālvā, *f*, 154
 Śōlakulasundarī, *channel of*, 216
 Śōlamūvēndavēlān, *sur of* Mānikkan Eduttapā-
 dam, *m*, 427, 428, 438
 Śōla-Mūvēndavēlār, *sur of* Nakkan Kanichchan,
 266, 269, 272, 273, 291, 292
 Śōla-Mūvēndavēlān, *m*, [17], 173
 Śōlan, *title of* Śadaiyan Ranadhira, 446.
 Śōla-nādu or Śōnādu, *the Chōla country*, [4]n,
 4, 6, 15, 30, 232, 241, 243, 252, 253, 254, 262,
 295, 367, 368, 373, 444, 450, 462
 Śōlāmyamam, *quarter*, 265, 266, 267, 268, 272,
 275
 Śōlapuram, *vi*, [6], [12].
 Śōlarāja-Mūvēndavēlān, *sur of* Karumānikkan
 Śōman, 118
 Solar race, [5], [19], 69, 127, 385, 413, 415n,
 416, 417, 418, 421, 422, 423, 424, 443, 446,
 449, 458
 Śōla-Vallabhan, *sur of* Madhurāntakan, 62
 Śōlavichchādira (or Udayār Śōla) Pallavaraiyar,
sur of Irāsandan, 475, 476
 Śōlēndrasumha-Māyilattī, *sur. of* Kandan Mara-
 van, 30
 Śōliyavaraiyan, *m*, 97.
 Sōma, *plant*, 416n.
 Sōmanātha or Samkaradēvan Sōmanātha, *ch.*, 89,
 107, 108, 109
 Sōmantāhēśvara, *te.*, 22, 23, 29.

Sōmanāyagan Śandaiyan Ayyavan, *sur. of* Madu-
 rāntaka Karambulār, *m*, 230.
 Sōmanēri, *vi*, 340, 341
 Sōmangalam, *vi.*, 125, 128, 139, 140, 172
 Sōmarāsar Dēvan, *m*, 438
 Sōmāsi, *m*, 329
 Sōmāsi-bhūmi, *field*, 330
 Sōmēśvara I, *W Chālukya k*, [17], 32, 52, 53,
 58, 59, 64, 65, 68n, 201, 203.
 Sōmēśvara II, *W Chālukya k*, [16], 129, 194,
 195, 201.
 Sōmēśvara, *te*, 45
 Sōmēśvara III, *k*, 57n
 Sōmū, *vi*, [12], 31, 43n, 45
 Śōnādu, *see* Śōla-nādu.
 Śōrumāttu, *tax*, 143
 Śōttai, *seat* (?), 162
 Śōttai Gōvīndabhattai, *m*, 177.
 Śraddhāmantas, 332, 370, 371
 Śiagdhārā, *metre*, 450.
 Śramana, *sa* Jaina, 15
 Śrāvanai, *sa āvanam*, 105n, 223
 Śrēsthin, *m*, 443, 458.
 Śrēsthīsaraman, *m*, 443, 444, 458.
 Śrī, *sa*, Lakshmi, 342, 420, 421, 458.
 Śrībalibhōga, 349, 354, 360
 Śrībalidēva, *image*, 294
 Śrībalipattī or Śrībalipuram, *land*, 106, 109,
 371
 Śrīdēvi-vāyakkāl, *channel*, 249, 324, 325, 336,
 339, 340, 341, 342, 349, 353, 355, 360
 Śrīdhara-Bhattan, *m*, 84
 Śrīdharaakramavittar, *m*, 259
 Śrī-Gandarādityan, *flower garden of*, 321, 322
 Śrīkandan Avināśagan, *m*, 282
 Śrīkantha, *sa* Śiva, 413
 Śrīkananīśvara, *sa* Tāndōnīśvara, 173, 176
 Śrīkārya, *office*, 241, 261, 272, 283, 286, 320, 375,
 379
 Śrīkrishna-Bhattar, *m*, 177
 Śrīkrishna-Sūri or Śrīkrishna-Bhatta, *m*, 87
 Śrīkrishnan Uttamappaiyan, *sur of* Āyiravan
 Ayyan Perumān, *m*, 438
 Śrīkrishnapura, *channel*, 177
 Śrīmad-Dvāra, Śrīmad-Dvārāpati or Śrīmad-
 Dvārāpuridēva, *sa* Rājagōpāla-Perumāl, 49,
 51, 57, 63, 70
 Śrīmadhavaichēri, *quarter of* Tiuvīśālū, 257
 Śrī-Māra, *Pāndya k*, 443, 446, 457.
 Śrīmedinivallabha, *title of* Vīrarājendra I, 195,
 198
 Śrīmuga Śrīmukha, or Tirumugam, *royal order*,
 158, 329, 389, 390, 426, 429
 Śrīnārāyana-Agnīsarma-Kramar, *m*, 6.
 Śrīnātha, *title*, 98, 100, 101, 105, 108.
 Śrīnivāsa, *sa* Vishnu, 458
 Śrīpadanellūr, *vi*, 25.
 Śrīpūambiyam or Tiruppurambiyam, *vi.*, [8]
 [10], 449
 Śrīrāma-Bhattan, *m*, 87.
 Śrīrāmadēvan, *m*, 83.
 Śrīrāma-Śrīlangō, *m*, 81.
 Śrīrangam, *island*, 125, 126, 148, 168, 187, 205,
 217, 219n.

Śrīraṅganātha, *see* Ranganātha
 Śrīraṅganātha-Bhattacha, *m*, 168
 Śrīśadagōpa-Dāsar, *m*, 151.
 Śrīvaishnava, *see* Vaishnava
 Śrīvallabha, *Ceylon prince*, 53n.
 Śrīvallabha, *Pāndya k*, 37, 465n
 Śrīvallabha, *sur of Śīmāra*, 443, 446, 449, 457
 Śrīvallavan (Śrīvallabha) Madanarāja, *sur of*
 Parākrama-Pāndu, 52, 53, 56
 Śrīvāia, *sur of Parāntaka Neduñjadaiyan*, 446.
 Śrīvel-Vishnugūha, *te*, 370, 371, 372
 Śrīviśālūia, *s a* Tiruviśālūr, 257, 258
 Śrīvishaya or Śrīvijaya, *s a*. Palambang, [21],
 466, 469.
 Śrīyārū-kalanī, *land*, 17
 Śruti, *s a* the Vēdas, 422
 sthāna, *temple*, 329
 Sthānu Ravi, *Chēra k*, [8], 221, 222, 235
 strīdhana, 284
 Śubhadēva, *Chōla k*, 386
 Subrahmanya-bhattacha, *te*, 348, 349
 Subrahmanya-vāyakkāl, *channel*, 17, 317, 319, 371.
 Subrahmanyanāśam, *lane*, 326, 327, 334, 336,
 338, 340, 346, 347, 353, 355, 360
 Śuchīndiam, *vi*, [7], 159n, 267
 Śūlakulam, *tank*, 477, 479, 480.
 sūlakkāl or sūlavulakku, *measure*, 229, 231.
 Śūlapāni Arumoli, *m*, 428, 429, 438.
 sūli, *tree*, 28, 430.
 Sun, [4], 69, 126, 206, 218, 384, 413, 414n, 422,
 460, 461, 472.
 Sundaikuli, *land*, 260
 Sundaia-Chōla (Sōlan), *sur of* Mudikonda-Chōla,
 33, 37, 58, 62.
 Sundara or Sundara-Chōla, *sur. of* Parāntaka II,
 [3], [4], [8], [12]n, [14], [15], [16], 255,
 257, 258, 263, 265n, 288, 375, 379, 383, 387,
 419, 420, 476, 477
 Sundara-Chōla-Pāndya, *k*, [18].
 Sundaramūrti, *Saiva samt*, 143, 384.
 Sundara - Pāndya, *mythical*, *Pāndya k*, 442, 446,
 457
 Sundara-Pāndya, *Pāndya k*, 52, 56.
 Sundara-Sōla, *road of*, 212, 216
 sundil, *tree*, 58n
 Sundilēm, *tank*, 58
 Śungandavittōn or Śungandavirtta-Kulōttunga-
 Sōladēva, *s a* Kulōttunga I, 131, 180, 191
 Śurachūlāmani, *biruda of* Parāntaka I., [13].
 Surādhirāja, *s a* Suraguru, 417n.
 Suraguru, *s a*. Mrityujit, [4], 385, 417.
 Śūran Aniyān, *m*, 312
 Surēśvarāchārya, *teacher*, [9].
 Śurivalayavan, *k*, 464.
 Śūrri Kandattadigal, *m*, 288.
 Śuruli-āru, *vi*, 444, 450, 462.
 Śuruli-malai, *hill*, 450.
 Sūryadēva, *shrine*, 137.
 Sūsruta, *author*, 458n.
 Suttamali-valanādu, *di*, 216.
 Suttūru, *vi*, 195.

Suvabala (Svabala)-kōilai, *land*, 18
 Śuvaran Māran, *sur of* Perumbidugu Muttarai-
 yan II, 441n.
 Śuvaran Śāttan, *m*, 293
 svam, *fund*, 64
 svāmi-bhōga, *landlord's share*, 236
 Śvētāranyēśvara, *te*, 31, 51, 79
 Syandanagiāma, *vi*, 443, 458

T

tadi, *a measuring rod*, 58, 81, 260, 274, 318, 321,
 364, 365, 368
 Tadiḡa, Tadiḡa (Tadiḡai or Tadiya)-pādi, Tadivali
 or Tadiyavali, *co*, 5, 6, 7, 11, 15, 23, 24, 29,
 105, 107.
 tadivali-vāiyam, *committee*, 327, 329
 Taichchanū-nādu, *ai*, 438
 Tala II, *W. Chōlukya k*, 58n, 387, 388, 421,
 423
 Tai-Pūsam, *festival*, 379
 Taiyū, *vi*, 356, 357, 361, 362, 363
 Takkana (Dakshina)-Lādam, *s a* Dakshina-Rādha
 [19], 469
 Takkōlam, *vi*, [12], [14], 31, 37n, 64, 68n, 106,
 126, 192, 208n, 343, 350, 361, 366, 386.
 Takkōlam, *s a* Takōpa, [21], 469.
 Takōpa, *vi*, [21].
 talaimagan, *the headman*, 293, 307
 Talaing, *co*, 195
 talai-nīr, *first water*, 288
 talaiapparai, 273, 319
 Talaiśayanam, *te*, 356
 Talaiśayanapuram, *sur of* Taiyūr, *vi*, 356, 357,
 361, 362, 363
 Tālavēdu, *s a* Tālabēdu, 165, 167
 Talaiyālangānam, *vi*, 443, 445, 446, 450, 460
 Tālakottigāmundaśvāmi, *m*, 350
 talam, 273
 tālam, *a plate*, 241
 Tālabēdu, *vi*, 165
 tāli, *a marriage badge*, 475
 Tāli-Bhatta, *m*, 308
 Tāli Eumān, *m*, 363
 Tāli Śāndira (Chandra) sēgaran (śēkharan), *m*,
 293, 312
 Tāli Tiruppanangādu, *m*, 38, 41
 Taluvupōsansēri, *vi*, 118
 Tāmarai-kulam, *tank*, 477, 479
 tambi, *a younger brother or cousin*, 196.
 Tamanūr, *vi*, 172.
 Tamanūr-nādu, *di*, 172, 173
 Tamil, *a dance*, 379
 Tamilakam, *co*, [1].
 Tamluk (Tāmraḡpti), *s a* Tamilakam, [1]n
 Tammadi Nambi, *sur. of* Mādilan Kalvan Geru-
 dan, *m*, 322
 Tammusiddhi or Tammusiddhi-Araśan, *Telugu-*
Chōda ch, 33n, 207.
 Tāmōdiran (Dāmōdara) Vengādan, *m*, 158.
 Tanakkamalai, *vi*, 352, 354
 Tandaganād-Udaiyān, *sur of* Kēsavan Pērāyi-
 ram-Udaiyān or Vēlān Pērāyiram-Udaiyān,
 73, 76
 tandal or tandal-ilakkai, *tax*, 117 and *add*.
 Tandalam, *vi*, [6], 185n.
 Tandan Anai, *m*, 26.

- Tandandōttam, *vs*, 391.
Tandarai or Tandurai, *vs*, 165, 167
tāndava, *a dance*, 185
Tandipūdi, *sur of Śembiyan Uttaramantri*, *m.*, 293, 307
Tāndōmīśvara, *te*, 173, 202.
taniyū, *a free village*, 3n, 8n, 176n, 200n, 204n.
Tañjai, Tañjāvūr, Tañjāpuri, or Tañchāpuri, *s.a.*
Tanjore, [5], [7], [12] 11, 12, 14, 15, 20n, 22, 31, 33, 75, 76n, 109n, 168n, 235, 377, 378, 382, 383, 386, 418, 441n, 444, 446, 449, 450, 461.
Tañjāvūr-kūrram, *di.*, 168n, 378, 383.
Tanjore, *vi*, [5], [7], [12], [15], [17], [18], 1, 14, 21n, 46n, 52, 125, 127, 136, 138n, 151n, 155n, 178, 181, 182, 197, 234, 235, 239n, 246, 260, 265n, 267, 268, 288n, 296n, 297, 319n, 379, 386, 418, 443, 449, 465, 466n
Tankūttamudaiyān Vannakkan, *m.*, 288.
Tanmīśvara, *s. a.* Dharmēśvara, 88.
tannippattu, 364, 365
Tannirkunram, *vi*, 470, 471, 472, 473.
Tāntōuripirān, *god*, 477, 479.
Tantravārtika, *work*, [1].
tapasvin, *an ascetic*, 48
Tappildaram Pallavaiaayan, *m*, 246, 247, 248.
taragu or taragu-pāttam, 391.
taram, *class*, 300
tari-irai or tarippudavai, 391.
Taippattu, *field*, 354.
Tarudamba-vāykkāl, *channel*, 5, 6.
Tarumapuram, *vi*, 159.
Tatta-bhattan, *m.*, 348.
Tattaiyūr-nādu or Tattaigala-nādu, *di.*, 31, 43, 44, 45, 46
Tattanāiāyanan, *m*, 263.
Tattānēri, *tank*, 253
Tattan Śēndan, *m*, 427, 429, 438.
tattār-pāttam, *tax*, 311, 391.
tattirai, *tax*, 300
tattukkāyam, 391.
Tattūr, *vi*, 11.
taviśu, *a throne*?, 221
Tayanāiāyana Bhatta-Sōmayājiyār, *m*, 256.
Tāyan Śingan, *m*, 445, 465.
Tēki, *vi*, 179, 196
Telnga or Telunga-Bhīma (or Vīman), *ch.*, 180, 182, 184
Tellārreinda, *sur of Nandippōttaraayar*, 228, 229n
Telugu-Chōda, *family*, [5].
Telungar, 81
Tempalle, *vi*, 25.
tendi, *tree*, 57
Ten-Headed, *s. a.* Rāvana, 442, 457.
Ten-Kaduvāy, *di*, 295
Tenkarai-nādu, *di*, 243.
Tenkarpatti, *field*, 354.
Ten-Kongu, *di*, 47
Tenkolh, *s a* Tempalle, 25, 26
Tennan, *title of Parāntka Neduñjadaiyan*, 446.
Tennan, *title of Śadaiyan Ranadhīra*, 446.
Tennavan, *s a* Pandya, 218, 462
Tennavan Ilangoṽlār, *ch.*, 228, 229, 257.
Tennavan Pirudimārāsan, *m*, 249, 250.
Tennēri, *vi.*, 172, 192.
Tenpūr, *vi*, 251
tenraḷi, *the southern temple*, 98.
Tēran, *m*, 330n.
Terkuri (or Śerkuri)-Uttaramēi u-chaturvēdiman-galōttaman (or Uttaramērumangalōttaman), *m.*, 332, 333, 337
Tērmāran, *sur of Rājasimha I*, 446, 447, 448.
terri, *a hedge*, 484
Terri Venkādan, *m*, 428, 429.
Tēttarundiral, *Varṣhṇava hymn*, 148, 151
Tēvadi Kamalan, *see* Dēvadi Kamalan
Tevanappalli, *s a* Sōmūr, 31, 45, 46
Tēvangudi, *see* Dēvankudi.
Tēvūr-nādu, *di*, 38.
tiger, *crest*, 69n, 132, 142, 146, 176, 181, 182n, 212, 218, 385, 388n, 417, 443, 460.
Tikkālī (or Tiruttikkālī)-Perumān (or Perumānadigal or Ālvār), *god*, 96, 97, 98, 100, 101, 102, 106, 107
The Tamils 1800 Years Ago, *work*, [2].
Tikkālī-Vallam, Tiruttikkālī or Tirutikkālī, *s.a.*
Tiruvallam, *s a* Tiruvallam, 89, 94, 96, 97, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 111, 122
Tillaikkūtta-Kramavittan, *m*, 168
Tillamāyaganallū, *s a.* Kadavāyechchēri 210, 212, 214, 216.
Tillaiyāchārya, *m*, 321
Tillasthānam, *vi*, [8], [12], 179, 249, 263.
Tilōkasundarī, *queen of Vijayabāhu I.*, of Ceylon, 59
timilai, *a drum*, 221, 319.
Tindakūla-Mādhava-Kramavittan, *m*, 71.
Tindivanam, *vi*, 126, 148n, 193, 200.
Tinnevely, *vi*, 126
Tintrinīśvara, *te*, 148n, 200
Tirāmūr, *vi.*, 155, 158, 159, 260, 261, 379, 380, 381, 382.
Tirāmūr-nādu, *di*, 117, 134, 155, 158, 223, 294.
tiranaī, *ornament*, 475
Tīran Mūdayyan, *ch*, 352, 354
Tīran Śennippēraiaayan, *m*, [10], 231, 232, 233.
Tīran Ulagaḍigal, *m*, 352, 354.
Tīru, *s a* Lakshmī, 468
tīru, *an astrologer*, 321n
Tiruchchēdi Irāsadi, *m*, 244.
tiruchchennadai or tiruchchannadai, *sacred current expenses*, 334, 344, 355, 367.
Tiruchchenduai, *vi.*, 228, 229, 262, 263.
Tiruchchengōdu, *vi.*, 476.
tiruchchilambu, *sacred anklet*, 475.
Tiruchchirrambala-Bhattan, *m*, 88.
Tiruchchirrambalakkālān, *sur of Aravābharaṇan*
Eduttapādam, 471, 473.
Tiruchchirrambalam-udaiyān, *m*, 118
Tiruchchirrambalam-udaiyār, *te*, 214, 216.
Tiruchchuram, *vi.*, 83, 84.
tiruchchurrālai, or tiruchchurramāligai, *s.a.* parivārālaya, 24n, 322
Tirukkadanmallai, *s. a.* Mahābalipuram, 186n.
Tirukkalar or Vengūrkkālā-Tirukkalar, *vi.*, 464, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475.
Tirukkālatti, *see* Kālahastī.
Tirukkālattidēva, *ch.*, 208
Tirukkālatti Pichchan, *m*, 389, 426
Tirukkalāvūr, *vi.*, [12], 233, 235, 244, 259.
Tirukkalattattai, *vi.*, 255, 288n.
Tirukkalukkunram or Kalukkunram, *vi.*, [8], 3n, 21n, 65, 69n, 125, 126, 143, 148, 164, 165, 167, 193, 208n.

Tirukkalukkunram-Udaya-Mahādēvar, *s. a.*
Vēdagirīśvaia, 167.

Tiukkānappēr-kūram, *di*, 462.

tiukkandavāli, *sacred necklace*, 476

Tiukkandiyū, *see* Kandiyūr.

tirukkannāmadai, 189, 337

Tirukkaiapuram, *s. a.* Tiruppāikadal, 232, 327, 329, 330

Tiukkarrali Picchean, *ch.*, [14], 255

Tirukkarugāvūr, *see* Karugāvū

Tirukkāttuppalī, *vi*, 252

Tirukkāl-kōttam, *s. a.* Nāgēśvara, 276, 278, 283, 284, 378, 382, 383.

Tirukkudittittai, *s. a.* Tiukkallittattai, 258, 259.

Tirukolur or Tiukkōyilūr, *vi*, 199, 246

tirukkolgai, *ornament*, 474

Tirukkollambūdūr, *vi*, 205

Tiukkōvalūr, *s. a.* Tiukoilū, [6], [7], 125, 126, 152, 199, 200

tiukkōyiludaiyār, *temple priests*, 319, 322

Tirukkudamūkkil, *s. a.* Kumbakōnam, 233, 234, 245, 276, 278, 283, 284, 377, 378, 382, 383.

Tiukkunangāduturai, *s. a.* Āduturai, 294.

Tirumadavilāgam, *see* Tirumadavilāgam

Tirumāl, *s. a.* Vishnu, 134, 158

Tirumalai, *vi*, 73, 465, 466n

Tirumaluvādi or Tirumalavādi, *vi.*, 39, 58, 126, 178, 182, 186, 205.

Tirumāliruñōlai, 339, 340.

Tirumālpēru or Tirumālpuram, *vi*, [9], 238, 254, 288, 289, 291, 292, 293, 373, 374

Tirumanappichean, *m.*, 469, 470

tirumandirav-ōlai, or mandira-ōlai, *royal secretary* 136, 312

Tirumangai, *vi*, 446

Tirumangai-Ālvāi (Tirumangaiyālvār), *Vaishnava saint*, [3], 187, 447n.

Tirumānikulī (Tirumānikulī), Udayi-Mānikulī or Udayi-Tirumānikulī, *vi*, 204, 205, 209, 210

tiru manni vilangum, *introductory words of the inscriptions of Kulōttunga I*, 125.

Tirumāppēran, *m*, 113.

Tirumayānam (Tirumeyjānam), *part of Nālūr*, 222.

Tirumayānam-Udayār, *s. a.* Smaśānēśvara, 117

Tirumērali, *s. a.* Mēlaikkōyil, 234.

Tirumilalai, *vi* 281.

Tirumudukunram, *s. a.* Vridhāchalam, 152

tirumukkānam, *tax*, 391.

Tirumūlattānam, *te*, 234, 330

Tirumullainātha, *te*, 244

Tirumullaivāyil, *vi*, 286, 287, 288, 351, 373

Tirumunaippādi, *di*, 198, 199.

Tirumurai, 384

Tirunaduvūr, *vi.*, 244

Tirunalakkunram, *s. a.* Kudumiyāmalai, 234

Tirunallam, *s. a.* Kōnērurāapuram, 276, 277, 296, 300, 301, 306, 307, 309, 310, 311, 312, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322.

Tirunallattuchehēri, *village site*, 310.

Tirunallur, *s. a.* Nālūr, 282, 283, 312.

Tirunālur, *vi*, 293.

tirunāmakkāni, 426.

Tirunāmanallūr, *vi.*, [13], 192, 193, 195, 197, 198.

Tirunānasambandhar, *Śaiva saint*, 89n, 134, 152, 155, 182, 209, 212n

Tirunaraiyūr, *vi*, 298.

Tirunaraiyū-nādu, *di*, 281, 282, 298, 299

Tirunārana-vadi, *path*, 326

Tirunārana-vāyikkāl, *channel*, 330

Tirunārāyanachēhēri, *quarter of Tiruvisalūr*, 256.

Tirunāvalū, *s. a.* Tirunāmanallūr, 198, 199.

Tirunedundādagam, *Vaishnava hymn*, 187.

Tirunedungalam, *vi.*, 286

Tiruneyttānam, *s. a.* Tillasthānam, 221, 249, 250, 264

tirunilam, tirunādu or tirunādu, *heaven*, 142n.

Tirunilakandachēhēri, *quarter of Tiruvisalūr*, 257.

Tirunōmbalūr, *see* Nombalūr

Tirupanrīsvaram, *tr.*, 330

Tirupāpūyūr, *vi*, 191, 192, 193.

Tirupati, *vi*, 151n, 208, 337n

Tirupadigam or Tirupadiyam, *hymn*, 93, 94, 285, 301, 320, 322

Tiruppalātturai, *vi*, 246, 279

Tiruppanambūdūr, *vi*, 246, 247, 248, 249

Tiruppārkadal, *vi*, [10], 231, 233n

Tiruppāsūr, *vi*, 208n, 254, 391, 431

tiruppattam, *a sacred diadem*, 475

tiruppattigai-palagai, *a sacred girdle plate*, 475.

tiruppirai, *ornament*, 474, 475.

Tiruppātturai, *s. a.* Tiruppalātturai, 246, 247, 275, 279, 280, 299, 300

Tiruppori-Kramavittan, *m*, 73

Tiruppulivalam or Tiruppulivanam, *vi*, 126, 325.

tirupū-mandapam, 215, 216.

Tiruppurambiyam, *vi*, 215n.

Tiruppurambiyam-udaiyān Kayilāyadēvan (Kailāśadēva), *m*, 215.

Tirupputūr, *vi*, 450.

Tiruppūvanam, *vi*, 163n

Tirutandīśvara, *te*, 251, 252, 253

Tirutāntōnri-Mahāśīkarana-Īśvaia, *s. a.* Tāndōn-rīśvara, 202, 204.

tiruttāvadam, *ornament*, 475

Tiruttandīśvara, *s. a.* Tintinīśvara, 200, 202.

Tiruttondīśvara, *s. a.* Bhaktajanēśvara, 198, 199.

Tiruttōnippuam, *land*, 317

tiruvadi, 234

Tiruvadigal Vaikundan, *see* Vaikundadigal.

Tiruvaiya-Īśvaia, *te*, 90, 104, 106, 107, 108

Tiruvaiyan or Śivamahārāja Tiruvaiyan, *ch*, 89, 104, 105, 106, 107

Tiruvaiyan Śamkaradēva (or Samkaradēva), *ch.*, 89, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108

Tiruvaiyāru, *vi.*, 21n, 52

Tiruvaiyārudaiyān, *m.*, 475, 476

Tiruvaiyōtti, or Tiruvaiyōttidēvar, *te*, 58, 84.

Tiruvālandurai-Mahādēva, *s. a.* Vatamūlēśvara, 152.

Tiruvālangādan, *name of a margosa tree*, 432.

Tiruvālangādu or Ālangādu, *vi*, [4], [7], [8], [10], [11], [13], [14], [15], [18], [19], [20], [22], 125, 128, 132, 134, 135, 136, 221, 226, 236, 246, 375, 383, 384, 386, 387, 389, 390, 391, 418n, 426, 428, 437.

Tiruvālangādudaiyār, *s. a.* Ammayappa, 426.

tiru-valara, *introductory words of the inscriptions of Vīnarājendra I*, 192, 193

Tiruvahdāyil (Tiruvahdāyam), *vi.*, 357, 358.

Tiruvallam, *vi*, 22, 25, 29, 30, 38n, 58, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 96, 98, 104, 106, 107, 109, 113, 114, 119, 120, 121, 123, 125, 126, 129n, 136, 193, 208, 468n.

Tiruvallam-Udayâr, *s. a.* Bilvanâthésvara, 108, 109, 111, 113, 117, 121, 122.
 Tiruvallûr, *vi.*, 254
 Tiruvaludi-nâdu, *di.*, 151n
 Tiruvalundûr-nâdu, *di.*, 6, 426, 427, 429.
 Tiruvâmâtûr, 227, 228
 Tiruvânakkâ (*or* kâval) *s. a.* Jambukêśvara, 168, 171, 172, 418n
 Tiruvânilai *or* Tiruvânilai-Mahâdêva, *s. a.* Paśupatiśvara, 30, 38, 39, 41, 42, 44, 46, 48.
 Tiruvânjâikkalam, *vi.*, 31
 Tiruvânjiamudaiyân, *m.*, 312
 tiruvâram, *a sacred garland*, 475
 Tiruvaiangam, *s. a.* Śrīangam, 148, 152
 Tiruvarangadêvar, *s. a.* Ranganâtha, 148, 151.
 Tiruvarangamudaiyân Sabasian, *m.*, 73, 74
 Tiruvaianga-Nârāyanan Śīkrishnan, *m.*, 151.
 Tiruvârûr, *vi.*, 178
 Tiruvârûr-kûrram, *di.*, 428, 429, 438.
 tiruvâsigai, *a sacred garland*, 475
 tiruvâsigappurimam, *ornament*, 476
 tiruvattamani, *a sacred round bead*, 475
 Tiruvattiyûr, *see* Attiyur
 Tiruvâyappâdi, *the temple of Krishna*, 49, 84.
 Tiruvâyappâdi, *s. a.* Vaikuntha-Perumâl, 49n, 84n
 Tiruvâykkulam, *s. a.* Râjagôpâla-Perumâl, 49, 151n.
 Tiruvâykkulam-Udayân Śrīrâghavan, *m.*, 151.
 Tiruvâykkula-Pittan, *m.*, 74.
 Tiruvâykkulattu Emberumân, *god*, 83.
 Tiruvâymol, *Vaishnava Scripture*, 2, 148
 Tiruvâymolidêvai, *god*, 2, 5
 Tiruvâyôdhyai, *vi.*, 368, 369.
 Tiruvâyppâdi, *quarter of Uttaramêru-chaturvêdi-mangalam*, 333, 334.
 Tiruvâyppâdi-Nârāyanan, *m.*, 241
 Tiruvêdagam, *see* Êdagam
 Tiruvêgambamudaiyân, *sur. of* Śīyagangan Amarâbharanan, 122, 208.
 Tiruvêgambam-udaiyân Tiruvanantīśvaram-udaiyân, *ch.*, 212
 Tiruvehkâvâlvân *or* Vekâ, *te.*, 143.
 Tiruvêlai-araichchâkkai, *sur of* Kīrtimâraik-kâdan, 378, 379
 Tiruvellalai, *vi.*, [6], 279, 449.
 Tiruvellarai, *standard weight*, 279.
 Tiruvellavâyal, *vi.*, 237
 Tiruveludinaidu-Dâsar, *m.*, 151.
 Tiruvêngada-Bhattan, *m.*, 81
 Tiruvêngadanâtha-Yâdavarâya, *ch.*, 209.
 Tiruvêngadavan Sôman, *m.*, 151.
 Tiruvêngadu *or* Tiruvenkâdu, *vi.*, 31, 33n, 36n, 51, 125, 178, 192, 193, 204, 476
 Tiruvennâval, *s. a.* Jambukêśvara, 168, 171.
 Tiruvetpûr, *vi.*, 368.
 Tiruvetpûr-Udayân Têvadigal, *m.*, 368.
 Tiruvidaimarudan, *measure*, 381
 Tiruvidaimarudil, Tiruvidaimarudu *or* Tiruvidaimarudûr, *vi.*, [17], 43n, 125, 155, 156, 158, 159, 164n, 178, 260, 261, 294, 378, 379, 381, 382.
 Tiruvidaimarududaiyâr, *s. a.* Mahâlingasvâmin, *te.*, 155, 158.
 tiruvidaiyâtam, *s. a.* dēvadāna, 78, 83.
 Tiruvidavandai (Tiruvaḍandai), *vi.*, 261, 262, 356, 361, 362, 363.

Tiruvikrama-Bhattai, *m.*, 3
 Tiruvilâppuram, 263, 281
 Tiruvindalûr-nâdu, *di.*, 4, 438
 Tiruvîrattānam, *s. a.* Vîrattānêśvara, 199, 200.
 Tiruvîsaippâ, *Tamil hymns*, [13].
 Tiruvîsalûr, *vi.*, 242, 255, 256, 257, 297, 448
 tiruvodara-mâlai, *ornament*, 474.
 Tiruvorriyûr, *see* Orriyûr
 Tiruvottur, *vi.*, 3n, 178, 208n.
 Tiruvunnâlgaiapuram, *gift for the maintenance of the sacred central shrine*, 247.
 Tiruvunnâlgai-vâriyam, *committee*, 262.
 Tiruvunnaûr *or* Tiruvunniyûr, *quarter*, 333, 334, 355, 359, 360
 Tiruvûral *or* Tiruvûralpuram, *s. a.* Takkôlam, 361, 366, 367.
 Tiruvûral-Âlvâr *or* Tiruvûral-dêva, *s. a.* Jananâthésvara, 343, 350, 361, 366, 367.
 Tiruvurôsan, *festival*, 77.
 tiruvuttariyam, 474
 Tîsaichchudarmangalam, *sur of* Maniyâchi, 443, 444, 450, 459, 462.
 Tittanaidanallûr, *vi.*, 118.
 Tîyankudi, *vi.*, 428, 429.
 Tîyeri, *tax*, 311, 391, 436.
 tôdu *or* tiru-tôdu, *the sacred ear-ring*, 475, 476.
 Tôlâchcheviyar, *a class of people*, 266, 268, 275.
 Tollaikkâdar, 268.
 Tolugûr, *vi.*, 391, 431, 432.
 Tolûr, *vi.*, 256
 Tondai, *s. a.* pallava, [3].
 Tondaimân, *sur. of* Achchudan (Achchuta)-Râjarâjan, 38, 45
 Tondaimân, *ch.*, 43, 45
 Tondaimân, *sur. of* Râjarâjan, 41.
 Tondaimânârrûr, *s. a.* Tondamanâd, [9], 238, 289, 292, 387.
 Tondaimânârrûr-tuñjinadêva (*or* tuñjina-udaiyar) *s. a.* Âditya I., [9], 238, 288, 289
 Tondai, Tondai-nâdu *or* Tondai-mandalam *the Pallava co.*, [3], [7], [8], [12], [15], [16], 2, 8, 14, 15, 33, 36n, 221, 222, 289, 293, 386, 448, 449.
 Tondaimân Śôlapperiyaraiyan, *sur. of* Îśvaran Śingamâni, 202.
 Tondai-nâdu-pâvina, *sur of* Âditya I., [8]
 Tondaiyar-kôn, *s. a.* Pallava, [8]
 Tondamanâd, *vi.*, [9], 237, 238, 289
 Tondi, *vi.*, 197
 Tongalankilân Tiruvorriyûran, *m.*, 358.
 Tôttangilânâdan Sôman, *m.*, 164.
 tôtta-vâriyam *or* vâriyu), *garden committee*, 19, 231, 232, 327, 329
 Travancore, *co.*, 52, 159.
 Trayî, *the Vedas*, 458
 Trêta, *age*, 385, 414n, 417
 Tribhuvanachkravartin, *title*, 43, 45, 46, 74, 77, 79, 85, 86, 87, 123, 131, 181, 191, 205, 206, 208, 209, 384, 465n, 470, 472.
 Tribhuvana-Mahâdêviyâr, *queen of* Pârthivêndra, 343, 370, 371, 372.
 Tribhuvanamulududaiyâl, *sur. of* Tyâgapatâkâ, 181, 182, 185, 186
 Tribhuvanamulududai-valanâdu, *di.*, 186
 Tribhuvananallûr, *sur of* Perumbêrûr, 202, 204.
 Tribhuvanavîradêva, *sur of* Kulôttuṅga III., 43, 205.

Trichinopoly, *vi*, [5], 30, 148, 168, 217, 449n.
 Tridhāman, *s. a* Vishnu, 272
 Trilôchana, 457
 Trilôchanaśivârâya, *author*, [22]
 Triplicane, *vi*, [6]
 Tripura, *demon*, 418.
 Tripuravijaya, *image*, 301, 321
 Trisanku, *asterism*, 421, 422
 Trisârâppalli, *s a* Trichinopoly, [5]
 trisûla-kâsu, *coin*, 121
 Trivandrum, *vi*, 130n
 Triyambaka-bhattan, *m*, 292.
 Tudamuni-nâdu, *di*, 358
 Tudarmunni-nâdu, *di*, 134
 tudavai, *land*, 250.
 tûgalumâ, 297
 Tugavû, *vi*, 428, 429
 Tukkarai, *ch*, 106, 107
 tûkuli, 340
 tulâ, *weight*, 268
 tulaippon, *or* tulamiraiippon, 229, 234
 tulâbhâra, *ceremony*, [13], 387, 421, 464
 tulai, *an impression* (P), 229n
 Tular, *vi*, 426, 427, 429
 Tundunukkachehêri, *quarter*, 266, 268, 272, 274.
 Tungâ, *ri*, 32.
 Tungabhadra, *ri*, [17], 32, 37, 64, 69, 129, 144,
 147, 176, 193, 194, 466
 tâni, *grain measure*, 7n, 8, 38, 118, 139, 171, 189,
 190, 229, 275, 307, 308, 316, 317, 318, 319,
 320, 382, 472
 Tuñjalâr, *vi*, 462
 tuñjina *or* tuñjiya, *explained*, 24n
 Tûpîl Nârasinga-Kîamavittan, *m*, 338
 Tuvutti, *vi*, 317, 318, 321
 Tûsivû, *vi.*, 476, 477, 479, 480
 Tûttan, *ch*, 59, 63
 Tûy-nâdu *or* Tûñâdu, *di*, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28, 30,
 89n, 103, 104, 114, 117
 Tyâgâbhâra-valanâdu, *sur of* Paduvû-kôttam,
 89, 113
 Tyâgapadâgai *or* Tyâgapatâka, *queen of* Vikrama-
 Chôla, 182, 185
 Tyâgasamudra, *sur of* Vikrama-Chôla, 179, 180n,
 181.
 Tyâgavallî, *queen of* Kulôttunga-Chôla I, 131,
 156, 158, 159, 162, 177, 178
 Tyâgavârâkara, *s a*, Tyâgasamudra, 181

U

Udagai, *vi*, 8, 11, 15, 24, 68n, 107
 Udaipûr, *vi*, [19].
 Udayadivâkaran Tillaiyâliyâr, *m*, 427, 428, 438
 Udayapûrâttyâr, Pirâttyâr, Udayapûrâttyâr
 Mâdêvadigalâr *or* Pûntakan-Mâdêvadigalâr,
see Mâdêvadigalâr.
 Udayapûrâttyâr Kilânadigal, *Chôla queen*, 377,
 378
 Udayâr, *title*, 131, 181
 udayâr, *husband*, 307, 308
 Udayâr-Gandaiâdittatternîja-kakkôlar, *regiment*,
 277, 278
 Udayâr, *vi*, 293
 Udamâdampatti, *land*, 330
 Udaya III, *Ceylon k.*, [11], [15].
 Udayachandra, *ch*, 243
 Udayadivâkaran, *see* Ârûran Udayadivâkaran.
 Udayadivâkaran Kûttâduvân, *m.*, 38, 39, 41

Udayadivâkaran Kulôttunga Malavaiyân, *m.*,
 43
 Udayêndram, *vi*, [4]n, [6], [9], [10], 15n, 26n,
 49, 90, 92, 98, 99, 231, 243, 260, 449
 Udayamârtânda-Mûvêndavêlân, *sur of* Perumân
 Ambalattâdi, *m*, 429, 437
 ûdupôkku, *tax*, 311, 391, 437
 ugâ, *tree*, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 436
 Ugaeluppali, *m*, 318.
 ugappai, 111
 ugavai, *tax*, 38, 43, 48, 111n
 Ugavaiuppêlaiyan, *sur of* Namban Mañjan,
 362
 Ugra, *k*, 443, 449, 457n
 Ukkal, Utkal, *or* Utkai, *vi.*, [7], 1, 2, 6, 8, 9,
 13, 15, 16, 18, 57n, 151n, 267
 Ulagai, *vi.*, 64, 68
 Ulagalanda-Perumâl, *te*, 266, 272n, 342
 Ulagalanda-Sôla-chaturvêdimangalam, *sur of*
 Kalavai, 119
 Ulagalanda-Sôlapuram, *sur of* Tirukkalukkun-
 iam, 143, 148, 167
 Ulagamulududaiyâl, *title of* Arumolunagai,
 197n, 198, 200, 202, 203
 Ulagamulududaiyâr, *queen of* Adhiraîendradêva,
 117
 Ulagan Môdan, *m*, 200
 Ulagudaiyâl *or* Ulagumudaiyâl, *title of*
 Tyâgavalli, 73, 177, 178
 Ulaguyyakkonda-Sôla-valanâdu, *s a* Uyyakkon-
 dâi-valanâdu, 155, 158
 Ulaichecharanan Thuchchirrambalam - udaiyân
 Ponnambalakkûttan, *m*, 216
 Ulaichecharanan Valugan Tirunattamâdi, *m.*,
 212
 Ulai-ûr *or* Ulayûr, *vi*, 266, 269, 273
 Ulakkaiyûr, *vi*, 428, 429, 438
 ulakku, *or* *am and liquid measure*, 3, 27, 29, 30,
 96, 97, 113, 118, 148, 151, 189, 202, 231, 235,
 250, 262, 273, 274, 275, 282, 284, 285, 317,
 318, 352, 357, 361, 362, 376, 378, 382
 Ulappinimangalam, *vi.*, 444, 446, 450, 461
 ulaviyakkûl, *tax*, 391.
 ulgu, 391
 ulvâykkâl, *channel*, 235
 Umâ, *goddess*, 158, 162, 185n
 Umâ-Bhattâiakî, *image of*, 104.
 Umâmahêsvara, *te.*, 301
 Umayâ-pidârî, *goddess*, 321, 322
 Umbala-nâdu, *di*, 352, 354
 Unagai ppidi, *field*, 364
 undigai, 262
 unnâlgaî *or* tiruvunnâlgaî, *central shrine*, 20n,
and add, 292, 319
 unnilam, 253, 264, 284
 Upajâti, *metre*, 450
 Uparichara, *sur of* Vasu, 385, 417.
 Upâsakajanâlamkâra, *work*, [22].
 Upêndiavajrâ, *metre*, 450.
 uppu-kôchehaigai, 391
 Uppûr, *vi*, 391, 434
 ûr *or* ûrûm *assembly*, 363, 364, 365, 389, 392.
 Ūagam, Ūraka *or* Ūagattu-ninrâr, *s a* Ulaga-
 landa-Perumâl, 265, 266, 268, 269, 272, 273,
 274, 342
 Ūagamabâkkam, *vi*, 165, 167.
 Ūragattu-ninrâr, *measure*, 342, 343.

Uraiyûr, *vi.*, [2], 62, 386
 Uraiyûr-kûrram, *di*, 285
 Ūramai-śeyyum-Vāiyappaiumakkal, *committee*, 9n
 Ūran Ūran, *m*, 438
 Urappōndān, *m*, 73, 83
 Ūraśarman, *m.*, 443, 458
 ūrāchei, *tax*, 311, 391, 436
 Urattûr-kûrram, *di*, 231
 ūrettu, *tax*, 391.
 ūrgalilār, *residents of villages*, 427
 uṇi, *grain and liquid measure*, 11, 98, 100, 101, 118, 158, 159, 189, 202, 261, 273, 274, 282, 318, 372, 382.
 ūriduvai, *tax*, 322.
 Ūrikudi, *vi*, 427, 429
 ūi-irukkai, *village site*, 20u, 257.
 ūi-kalāṣṭu, *tax*, 117, 162, 311
 ūrkarchemmai-pon, *pure gold (tested by the touch-stone of the town)*, 227, 236
 Urodagam, *s. a.* Oragadam, 165, 167
 Ūrukkādu, *vi*, 81, 172
 Ūrukkāttu-kōtlam, *di.*, 81, 91, 118, 172, 173, 438
 Ūrukkādu (or kāttn)-nādu, *di*, 81, 438
 Ūrudaiyānkulam, *tank*, 241
 Urupputtū, *vi*, 4, 168, 177
 Ūruvupalli, *vi.*, [6]
 uśilai, *tree*, 433
 Uśinara, *mythical k*, 415n, 416
 Uśuppū, *vi*, 210
 Uthiya, *s. a.* Chēra, 418n.
 utkurai, 247, 249, 280
 Utpalāru, *vi*, 233, 234
 Uttama-Chōla (Śōla), *Chōla k*, [5], [7], [14], [15], [16], [17], 8, 251, 259, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 272, 276, 277, 278, 279, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 289, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 318, 348, 379, 383
 Uttama-Chōla (or Śōla), *sur. of Rājendra-Chōla-I*, 62, 388, 422.
 Uttama-Chōla (or Śōla)-Pallavaraiyan, *sur of* Liāyavan Pallavayan, 14, 111, 427, 428
 uttamāgram, *see* agram
 Uttamanidi-Kannappar, *sur of* Vanṇiyanāyan, 83.
 Uttamapriyan, *sur of* Ādavallān Śivavākyadēvan, 83
 Uttamaśīli or Parāntakan-Uttamaśīli, *Chōla prince*, [13], 246
 Uttamaśīli, *vi*, 246, 299
 Uttamaśīli-chatu vēdimangalam, *s. a.* Uttamaśīli, [13], 171, 246, 247, 248, 279, 280, 299, 300
 Uttamaśīli-vāyakkāl, *channel*, [13], 279, 280, 281
 Uttama-Śōla, *channel of*, 212, 213, 216.
 Uttamaśōla-Brahmādhurāja, *m.*, 286
 Uttamaśōlan, *flower garden of*, 322.
 Uttama-Śōlan, *ch*, 38, 39, 41, 43
 Uttama-Śōlan, *sur of* Rājendra-Śōlan, 62.
 Uttamaśōla-(Uḥōla) Tamiladaiyan, *sur. of* Nārāyanan-Kanali, 389, 426, 427, 429
 Uttama-Śōla-valanādu, *di.*, 39, 159, 162.
 Uttarakānda, *of* Rāmāyana, 444n.
 Uttara (Uttia)-Lādam, *co.*, [19], 469

Uttaramallū, Uttiamēlūr or Uttaranmēlūr, *vi.*, [13], 3n, 126, 128, 138n, 141, 143, 179, 190n, 325, 327, 340, 345, 348, 350n, 362, 368n, 467n.
 Uttaramantū, *office*, 445, 465
 Uttaramantū Pattālagan, *m*, 292
 Uttaramēlūr-Udayān, *m.*, 190
 Uttaramēru (mērūr, mallur or mēlū)-chaturvēdi-mangalam, *sur of* Uttaramallūr, 3, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 330, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 352, 353, 355, 359, 360, 361, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372
 Uttaramēru-vadi, *path*, 323, 332, 342, 361, 370, 371.
 Uttarāpatha, *co.*, [20], 224n.
 Uttattūr, *vi*, [17], [18]
 Uttongatonga-valanādu, *di*, 152, 154.
 uvachchar or ugachchagal, *musicians*, 48, 273.
 Uyyakkondān, *m*, 39
 Uyyakkondān Bhattan, *m.*, 78
 Uyyakkondān Thumalai, *vi*, 192, 230, 375.
 Uyyakkondār (or kondān)-valanādu, *di.*, 117, 134, 155n, 426, 427, 428, 429, 438

V

Vāchchiyan Mahēsvaiaṇ Tirandavān Kurangan, *m*, 216.
 Vadagarai Maṇudēri, *field*, 236
 Vadagarai Nallārrūr-nādu, *di*, 284
 Vadagarai Pāmbūr-nādu, *see* Pāmbūr-nādu
 Vadakalavalī-nādu (or iāshṭia), *di*, 443, 444, 450, 459, 462
 Vadakandam, *field*, 122.
 Vadakannamangalam, *vi*, 308, 309, 310
 Vadakaṇai-Rājēndia-Chōla-valanādu, *sur. of* Rāja-rāja-valanādu, 209
 Vadamadurappirandān-Nambi, *m*, 151.
 Vadamolī=Sanskrit, 443.
 Vada-Bāttamangalam, *vi*, 158
 Vada-Śigara-kōyil, *te*, 91
 Vadavāyēttam, *land*, 375
 Vada-Vīanāṇana, *vi*, 329
 Vadavūr-Vengādu, *vi*, 235
 vadi, *a road*, 5, 247, 280
 Vaduganādan Tiruvāykkulamān Tondaināttā-chāiyan, *m*, 82.
 Vadugan Pākkaran (Bhāskara), *m*, 71.
 Vadugavali, 12,000, *di*, 90, 91
 Vadugavali, the Telugu road, 90
 vāgai, *tree*, 218, 460
 Vāgaikkundil, *land*, 97
 Vaidumbarāditta Brahmādirājan *sur of* Nārāyana-Kramavittan, 342
 Vadumba, *family*, [9], [14], 68, 89, 106, 107, 108
 Vaidyanātha, *te*, 59, 58, 182.
 Vaigai, *vi.*, 450
 Vaigāśi-Tiruvādirai, *festival*, 379.
 Vaigāvūr, *vi*, 229, 230.
 Vaikānasap Perumān-Bhattan, *m.*, 253.
 Vaikhānasan Kalnikki-bhatta, *or* Kalnikki-bhatta, *m*, 364
 Vaikhānasas, 14, 15.
 Vaikundadigal or Tiruvadigal Vaikundan, *m.*, 357, 363

- Vaikundan Pāndan, *m*, 245.
 Vaikuntha-Perumāl, *te*, 49, 84n, 187.
 Vaināgin, 121
 Vaishnava or Śrī-Vaishnava [2], [3], 2u, 51, 78
 79, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 143, 148, 151, 152, 177n,
 186, 242, 254, 269, 275, 342, 368, 375.
 Vaishnavadāsa, *m*, 375.
 Vaishnavī, shrine of, 136.
 Vaiśavana, *s a* Kubēra, 423
 Vaisvadēvi, *metre*, 450
 Vaiyōdu, *vi*, 357, 363
 Vajrabhāsa III, *E. Ganga k*, 106
 Valabha, *mythical k*, 385, 415.
 Valabhī, *vi*, 385, 415
 Valappandūru, *vi*, [21], 469
 vālakkaṇam, 20
 vālamañjādi, *taa*, 311, 391, 436
 Valambagudi, *vi*, 171.
 Valaṇṇiyai, 295
 Valavan or Valabha, *s a* of Chōla, [15]n, 63,
 385n, 424
 Vāli, *king of the monkeys*, 444.
 Valikkutti, *m.*, 232
 Vallabha, *s a* Chōla, [15], 255
 Vallabha or Vallava, *title of Chalukya kings*, 55,
 57, 62n, 69, 195
 Vallabha, 443, 446, 457
 Vallam, *vi*, 428, 429
 Vallamanār, *ch*, 374
 Valla-nādu, *di*, 253, 254, 375
 Vallavaraiyar Vandyadēvar, *ch*, [15], [21], 196
 Vallimalai, *hill*, 22
 Vallūru, *vi*, 106
 Vālmiki, *sage*, 444n.
 Valudi, *s a* Pāndya, 218, 418n
 Vāluvarājan, *m*, 45
 Vāluvarāyan, *sur of* Tnuppuṇambiyam-udai-
 yān Kayilāyadēvan, 214, 216, 217.
 Vāl-vīchchu, 216n
 Vāmana Ēlāyiravan, *m*, 330.
 Vāmana-Nāīyānan, *m*, 428, 429
 Vāmanapurīśvara, *te*, 209
 Vāmanaśankarappādi, *quarter*, 267, 268, 275.
 Vānkōppādi, *di*, 152
 Vānamahādēvi, *sur of* Kundavvai, 98, 100,
 101
 Vānan Pulian, *m*, 28.
 Vānan Sōmādan (Sōmanātha), *m*, 28
 Vānapuram, *vi*, 89, 91, 92, 104, 105, 106, 107,
 188, 109
 Vānasamudram, *vi.*, 22n, 29, 30, 89
 Vānavan, *title*, 55
 Vānavan, *title of* Parāntakā Neduñjadayān, 446
 Vānavan, *title of* Sadaiyan Ranadhīra, 446
 Vānavan Mahādēvi or Vānavanmādhēvi, *queen of*
 Sundaia-Chōla, [14], 387, 420.
 Vānavanmahādēvi, *queen of* Vīranārāyana, 443,
 444, 446, 449, 458, 461
 Vānavanmahādēvi-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, *vi*, 164,
 165, 167
 Vānavanmahādēvi, *vi*, 168
 Vānavan-Mūvēndavēlān, *sur of* Arangan Tiruch-
 chirrambalam-Udayān, 38, 39.
 Vānavan-Pallavaraiyan, (or Pallavadaraiyan), *ch*,
 38, 39, 41, 43
 Vānavan Pēraraiyan, *sur. of* Korraṇ Arunmoli,
m, 263, 264.
- Vānavāriśan, *m*, 83
 Vanavāsi, *s a* Banavāsi, [17], 28, 390, 430, 468.
 Vānavidyādhara, (Bānavidyādhara) Vānavidyā-
 dharaīyā, Vānavidyādhara-Vānaīyā, or Vāna-
 iyā, *sur of* Vikramāditya I, 97, 98, 99, 100,
 101
 Vandalāivēlū-kūriam, *di*, 429, 437
 Vandalūr, *vi*, 48
 Vandārkulal-Nāchehiyār, *goddess*, 384
 Vandārkulal-Umamangai, *sur of* Vandārkulal-
 Nāchehiyār, 384.
 Vanduvaiāpati, *sur of* Śīmad-Dvāīāpati, 49, 84
 Vanduvaiāpati-Emberumān, *te*, 73, 78, 81, 83,
 85, 86.
 Vanduvaiāpati Pichchar, *m*, 73.
 Vanduvaiāpati-Tnuyākkulatt-Ālvār, *sur. of* Rā-
 jagōpala-Perumāl, 77.
 Vandyadēvar, *see* Vallavaraiyan Vandyadevai.
 Vanga or Vangāladēsa, *s a* Bengal, [17], 57n,
 388, 422, 469
 Vanga-Mulaiyūr, *see* Mulaiyūr
 Vanganar people of Vanga, 57
 Vangāian, *ch*, 68
 Vangattaraiyan, *sur of* Vengādan Ādittadēvan,
 190
 vanīlam, 216n
 Vāṇṇi, *sur of* Karuvūr, 31, 444, 446, 449, 450,
 461.
 vāṇṇi, *tree*, 56
 vankanai, *tree*, 434
 vanmaiai, *tree*, 433.
 vannāra-pārai, *taa*, 311, 391
 vanni, *tree*, 430
 Vannipēdu or Vannivēdu, *vi*, 95, 96
 Vanniyānāyan or Kannappan Tūsi-Ādmāyagan
 Nīlagangaiyan Vanniyānāyan, *m*, 83
 Vanniya-Rēvan, *sur of* Rēvaiasa, 59, 63.
 Vapushmat, *mythical k*, 416n
 Vaiagunā, Varaguna-Perumānār, or Nangai Va-
 iaguna-Perumānār, *princess* 249, 250, 263, 264.
 Vaiaguna I, or Varagun -Mahārāja, Pāndya k,
 442, 443, 446, 448, 449, 457, 460
 Vaiaguna II, or Vaiagunavaiman, Pāndya k.,
 [8], [10], 443, 444, 446, 448, 449, 457, 461
 Vaiagunamangalam *sur of* Rājasingamangalam,
 450.
 Varagunarājan, *m*, 45.
 Vāīhadēva (or svāmi), *god*, 361, 362, 363.
 Vārāhamihira, *astronomer*, [1].
 varambu, *a ridge*, 310
 Vāran, *ch*, 37.
 Vāranāsi, *sur of* Benares, 385, 415
 vārāvaigal, *collection*, 224
 vāriyam, *explained*, 151n
 vaii, *revenue-requister*, 162, 292
 varippottaga-kanakku, *office*, 293, 301, 312, 390,
 428, 429, 438.
 varippottagam, *office*, 289, 293, 301, 312, 390,
 428, 429, 438
 variyildu, *office*, 289, 293, 301, 312, 390, 428,
 429, 438
 Vārkkian Dēvan Ponnambalakūttan, *m.*, 216.
 Vasantatilakā, *metre*, 450
 Vāsava, *s a* Indra, 464.
 vāsi, *an increment*, 139n.
 Vasu, *mythical k*, 385, 417.

Vasu, 443, 446, 460.
 Vāsudēva, *m*, 443, 459.
 Vāsudēvan, *m*, 300
 Vātāmūlēsvara, *te*, 152
 Vātāpi, *vi*, [8]
 Vātāpi-konda, *sur. of* Narasimhavarman I., [8].
 vātānanya, *the banyan forest*, 134
 Vātāranyēsvara, *te*, 134
 vātu or vātaka, *s a* pādi, 268, 272.
 vatti, 222
 vattil, *a tray*, 11, 241.
 vattināli, 311, 391
 vāvu, 279
 Vāyalūr, *vi*, 427, 429, 438.
 Vayanasundarian, *sur of* Tankūttamudaiyān
 Vannakkan, 288
 Vayirādhuājai, *m*, 213, 217
 Vayirāgaṁam (Vajrākara), *vi*, 128, 132, 134, 140,
 142, 146, 175
 vayiram, *diamond*, 297
 Vayiramēghatātāka, *tank*, 327
 Vayiramēgha-vadi, *path*, 332, 333, 334, 337, 341,
 342, 346, 348, 361, 370
 vāykkēlvī, *office*, 289, 292, 307, 308
 Vēda, 3, 37, 57, 81, 113, 184, 210, 212, 227n,
 233, 241, 256, 269, 273, 275, 422, 458.
 Vēda —
 Atharva, 233n
 Baudhāyāniya-Grihya, 233n
 Chhândôga Sāma, 233n.
 Kalpa, 233n
 Kāthaka, 233n
 Rig, 233n
 Talavakāra Sāma, 233n.
 Vājasanēya, 233n
 Yajus, 233n
 Vēdagirīsvara *te*, 143, 164
 Vēdagōmapuram, *see* Dvēdagōmapuram.
 Vēdāl or Vēdāl, *vi*, [8]n, [9], 224, 225
 vēdi, 51
 Vēdic, 269, 442, 443, 458, 459.
 vēdinai or vēdilai, *tax*, 20, 253, 332.
 Vēgavatī, *ri*, 143n, 186
 Vēhkā, *sur. of* Vēgavatī, 143n, 186
 Vēl, *s a* Skanda or Kāma, 161n, 218n.
 Vēlavāngi, *m*, 121
 Vēlakular or Vēlakulattaraśar, *explained*, 57,
 161n
 vēlam, 218n.
 Velanāndu, *di*, 128, 180
 Vēlān Annāttadigal, *m*, 312
 Vēlān Annāvan, *m*, 308
 Vēlān Ganda (or Kanda) rādicheṇ, *ch.*, 307, 308.
 Vēlān Kanapuram, *m*, 139
 Vēlān Kariyān, *m*, 46
 Vēlān Kayilāyattān, *m.*, 143.
 Vēlān Kumāran, *m*, 163
 Vēlān Kūttan, *m*, 427, 429
 Vēlān Malaṅṁniyanirān, *m.*, 81, 82.
 Vēlān Madurāntagan, *m*, 307.
 Vēlān Pērān, *m.*, 73.
 Vēlān Pērāyiramudaiyān, *ch*, 73.
 Vēlān Perumān, *m.*, 438.
 Vēlaśārru, *vi*, 134.

vēli, *land measure*, 44, 46, 77, 97n, 152, 154, 155,
 171, 212, 213, 216, 234, 239, 241, 257, 285,
 298, 300, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312,
 318, 344n, 365n, 377, 379, 381, 426, 469
 Vēlichehēri, *vi*, 251, 252, 253, 367, 368
 vēlikkāsu, *tax*, 117, 143
 Vellaikkul, 433
 Vellaṁmūtti-Perumānadigal, *god*, 372.
 Vellaṁyū-nādu, *di*, 373
 vellakkāl, *channel*, 18
 Vellakkān-karai, 432
 Vellāla, *class*, 252, 253, 372
 Vellalūr, *vi*, 221n
 vellān-vagai, *cultivators' portion*, 390, 392, 427,
 428
 Vēlvāyil, *sur of* Tuvellavāyil, 237, 239
 Vellūr, *vi*, 446
 Vēlpulattaraśu, *sur of* Vikkalan, 161
 Vēlpulav-aśar, *Chātukya kings*, 161n
 velungu, *tree*, 431, 433, 434, 436
 Vēlūr, *vi*, [10], [11], 231, 232
 Vēlūrpālayam, *vi*, 284, 391.
 velvēl, *tree*, 433
 Vēlvētti-Gōvīndabhāttan, *m*, 286.
 Vēlvikudi, *vi.*, [5], [7]n, 441, 442, 444, 445, 446,
 447, 448, 449, 456n
 Vēmbarrū, *vi*, 444, 448, 450, 462
 Vēmbil, *s a* Vēmbarrūr, 448
 vēmbu, *tree*, 432
 Vēna, *k*, 385, 414
 Vēnādu or Vēn *s a* Travancore, 52, 56, 446.
 Venbai, *vi.*, 446.
 Vēndirādivaṁman, *sur of* Pārthivēndravarmān,
 [15], 356.
 Vēngādan Ādittadēvan, *m*, 190.
 Vēngai Ilaiya-Rudrakumāra-Kramavittan, *m*,
 247.
 Vēngai-nādu (or -nādu), *s a* Vēngi, 5, 6, 7,
 11, 15, 24, 30, 32, 37, 65, 69, 105, 107, 172,
 193, 194, 200, 201, 203.
 Vēngāla-nādu, *di*, 31, 33, 38, 39, 41, 42, 44, 45,
 46, 47
 Vēngi, Vēngai, Vēngi 16,000 or Vēngai-maṇḍala,
co, [19], 65, 69, 70, 120, 128, 129, 131, 132,
 179, 180, 182, 184, 194, 196, 203
 Vēngivallabha, *title*, 208
 Vēnkāla-nādu, *di*, 254
 Venkaṭa II, *Vijayanagara k*, 165.
 Venkatēsa-Perumāl, *te*, 208
 ven-kanda, ven-konda or men-konda, *explained*,
 49n
 Venkunra-kōttam, *di*, 16, 26
 Vēnnādu, *di.*, 300, 306, 307, 308, 309, 311, 312,
 427, 428, 429, 438
 Vēnnāyil Kūttanār, *m*, 438
 Venneykkūttan, *s a* Kṛishṇa, 190n.
 Vēnnil, *vi*, [5].
 Venrān kaipagam, *m*, 293
 Vēppaṅjurru, *vi*, 318.
 Vēppattūr, *vi*, 257.
 Vērpuram, *vi*, 204
 Verrikkurū Nālāyṁavan, *m*, 11.
 Vēthikilān Śōlai Kumaran, *m.*, 428, 429.
 veti, *forced labour*, 20, 51, 253, 322, 327, 332,
 333, 334, 337, 339, 342, 344, 346, 348, 349,
 353, 355, 360, 371.

Vettuppêru, 289, 291, 389, 427.
 vidai (Skt. vidhâ), 310.
 Vidâl, *see* Vedâl.
 Vidêlvidugu, *Pallava title*, 93, 229n
 Vidêlvidugu or Vedêlvidugu, *stone weight*, 228, 229
 Vidêlvidugu-vadi, *path*, 334, 336, 341, 346, 348.
 Vidêlvidugu-Vikramâditta-chaturvêdimangalam, *vi.*, 92, 93n, 94
 Vidiâ, *co*, 416n
 Vidiyan Tirumâl uñjôlai, *m*, 117.
 vidu, *a palace*, 307
 Vidugâdalagiya-Perumâl, *ch*, 208
 Vidyâdhara-tôrana, 469
 vihâra, [2], [21], [22]
 Vijaya, *s a* Arjuna, 443, 446, 457, 460.
 Vijayabâhu I, *Ceylon k.*, 59
 Vijaya-Buddhavarman, *Pallava k.*, [6].
 Vijayâditya, *W Chôlukya k.*, 52, 56, 65, 70, 128n
 Vijayâditya VII, *Eastern Chôlukya k.*, 65, 128, 132, 172n, 193, 194, 203
 Vijaya-Gandagôpâla, *ch*, 89, 123
 Vijaya-Kampavarman, *see* Kampavarman
 Vijayâlâya, *Chôla k.*, [4], [5], [7], [8], [15], 17n, 196, 229, 267, 268n, 386, 418
 Vijayâlâya, *sur of* Mudikonda-Chôla, 58n, 62.
 Vijayanagara, *vi*, 8, 106, 418n, 422n, 465n
 Vijaya-Narasimhavarman, *see* Narasimhavarman
 Vijaya-Nripatungavarman or Vijaya-Nripatunga-Vikramavarman, *see* Nripatunga
 Vijayarâga (Vijayarâghavadêva), *Chêra k.*, [13], 235, 236.
 Vijayarâjendra-mandalam, *co*, 136, 138.
 Vijayarâjendra-valanâdu, *di*, 39
 Vijjavai-Mahâdêviyâr or Vajjavaiyâr, *queen*, 373, 374
 Vijñapti, 389, 426, 443, 444, 459
 Vikatavâdava, *sur of* Râjasimha III, 444, 446, 461.
 Vikki, Vikkalan or Vikkilan, *s a* Vikramâditya VI, 32, 37, 52, 56, 118, 119, 129, 130, 144, 147, 161, 164n, 174, 176, 198, 200, 201
 Vikkamabâhu, *Ceylon k.*, 52, 53, 56, 59
 Vikki-Annan, *ch*, [8], 221
 Vikkumâdittan, *m*, 113
 Vikkrama-Sôlan-Ulâ, *Tamil poem*, 32, 113, 114, 129n, 130, 131, 179, 180, 181, 191.
 Vikramâbhairana-chaturvêdimangalam, *sur. of* Ukkal, 2, 4, 6, 8, 11, 12, 16, 18, 19, 21
 Vikrama-Chôla, *sur of* Râjendra-Chôla I, 388, 424.
 Vikrama-Chôla, Chôda, Chôladêva or Sôladêva), *Chôla k.*, 31, 32, 49, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79n, 131, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 186, 189, 196
 Vikrama-Chôla, *sur of* Parântaka I, [13].
 Vikrama-Chôla-Sambuvarâyan, *sur. of* Sengênî Ammayapan Kannudaipperiunân, 208
 Vikramâdittan, *m.*, 104
 Vikramâditya I, or Vikramâdittavânaiâya, *Bâna k.*, 88, 92, 93n, 94, 97, 99, 103
 Vikramâditya II, *Bâna k.*, 90, 92, 99
 Vikramâditya VI, *W Chôlukya k.*, [16], 32, 52, 57n, 65, 69n, 115, 118, 128n, 129, 130, 132, 140, 144, 180, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 201n, 208

Vikramakêśarî, *Kodumbâlûr ch.*, 285.
 Vikramânkadêvacharita, *Sanskrit poem* 65, 115, 129, 130, 131n, 132n, 194
 Vikrama Pândya (or Pându), *Ceylon k.*, 52, 53, 56
 Vikrama-Pândya, *Pândya k.*, 205, 206, 212, 218.
 Vikramasimhapuram, *sur. of* Nellore, 207.
 Vikrama-Sôla-Sambuvarâyan, *sur of* Sengênî Ammayapan Kannudaipperiunân, 122
 Vikukshi, *mythical k.*, 384, 413
 Vilâdattarayan, *m*, 48
 vilai-âvanam (or sâvanam), *see* âvanam
 Vilakkan Kadanâdan, *m*, 362
 Vilakku-vâykkal, *channel*, 325
 Vilâ-nâdu, *di*, [13].
 Vilangudi, *re*, 379
 Vilattûi, *vi*, 94, 373
 Vilñam, *vi*, 130, 444, 446, 450, 461
 Vilñattarayan, *m*, 45
 Vilñda, *s a* Vilñam, 387, 421.
 Villaiappângilân Niraiyan Aangan, *m*, 312
 Villava or Villavan, *s a* Chêra, 56, 57, 72, 81, 119, 218, 460
 Villavan, *s a* Pallava, 447n
 Villavan-Mâdêviyâr, *queen of* Pâithivêndia, 343, 368, 369, 370
 Villavan-Mâdêviyâr, *queen of* Vîra-Chôladêva, 120
 Villavan-Mahâdêviyâr, *queen of* Parântaka I., [12], 244, 245
 Villavan-Mûvêndavêlân, *sur of* Kanavadi Pichchan, 118
 Villavan Mûvêndavêlân, *sur of* Mâyân Kânñjan 281, 282
 Villava-Râjarâjan, *sur. of* Virapattiran (Vîrabhadra) Tillai-Vidangan, 38
 Villavarâyan, *sur of* Munaiyan Arumohidêvan, 168, 171, 172
 Villipâkkam, *vi*, 358
 Villivalam, *vi*, 143n
 Viluppâdaiâyan, *m*, 47
 Viluppâdhirâjan, *m*, 213
 Vilvêli, 446, 447
 Vimalâditya, *Kulûta ch*, 388n.
 Vimalâditya, *E Chôlukya k.*, [21], 126, 196
 vimâna, *central shrine*, 280, 300
 Vîmayan, *ch*, 68
 Vinayamahâdêvî, *queen of* Vajrahasta III, 106
 Vinnagar or Vinnagarai, *a Vishnu temple*, 49n.
 Vinnam, *vi*, 446
 Vinnamangalam, *vi*, 193
 vinnappam=vijñapti, 444, 462
 Vinnavanârâyana-bhattan, *m*, 39
 Vippêdu, *vi*, 138n
 Virâbhairana-Mûvêndavêlân, *sur of* Venrân Karpagam, *m*, 293
 Virâbhadiadêva, *shrine of*, 136, 139.
 Virâbharana-Mûvêndavêlân, *sur. of* Arayan Karpagam, *m*, 307, 308
 Virâbhûpati, *Vijayanagara k.*, 465n
 Vîra-Champa Chôla k., 89
 Vîra-Chôda or Vîra-Chôla (Sôla), *E Chôlukya k.*, 120, 125, 128, 131, 132, 156n, 178, 179, 180, 196
 Vîra-Chôla or Vîra-Sôlan, *Chôla prince*, 30, 47, 62, 89, 195.

Vīra-Chōla, *sur* of Vīraājēndra I, 195, 197, 198n, 199
 Vīra-Chōla, *sur* of Parāntaka I, [13]
 Vīra-Kērala, *Chēra k*, 206, 218
 Vīra-Kērala, *Pāndya k*, 52, 56, 218
 Vīrakēsari, *k*, 37
 Vīrakīrti, *title of* Parāntaka I, [13], 242, 243
 vīrāma, 4, 50, 90, 233n, 237n, 243n, 323, 382n
 Vīramahādēvi, *queen of* Rājēndra-Chōla I, [21]
 Vīramē tunaiy-āgavum, *introductory words of the inscriptions of* Vīraājēndra, 192, 193.
 Vīranāsimhadēva or Vīranārasimhadēva Yādavaiyā, *see* Simha
 Vīranāyana, *Chēra k*, 221n
 Vīranārāyana, *Pāndya k*, 443, 444, 446, 447, 449, 459, 460.
 Vīranārāyana, *sur.* of Parāntaka I, [13]
 Vīranārāyana chaturvēdimangalam, *vi*, 427, 428
 Vīranārāyana Brahmapriyan, *m.*, 336
 Vīranārāyanīyār, *queen of* Uttama-Chōla, 283, 284
 Vīra-Pāndya, *Pāndya k*, [14], [15], [16], 21, 205, 206, 212, 215, 218, 323, 325, 333, 334, 335, 336, 338, 339, 340, 341, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 352, 353, 362, 363, 368, 373, 374, 375, 376, 387, 469, 470
 Vīrapattirai (Vīrabhadra) Tillai-Vidangan, *m*, 38
 Vīrappādi, *quarter of* Conjeeveram 267, 268, 275
 Vīrarājēndra I, Vīrarājēndra-Chōla or Vīrarājēndradēva, *Chōla k*, [4], [12], [21], 30, 31, 32, 33, 38, 39, 49, 58, 59, 62n, 64, 65, 69n, 70, 106, 113, 114, 115, 117, 128, 129, 131, 132, 189n, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201n, 202, 203, 204, 209n, 265n, 465, 466.
 Vīrarājēndradēva II. or Vīrarājēndra-Chōladēva, *sur.* of Kulōttunga-Chōladēva III., 43, 205
 Vīrarājēndra-Brahmādirāyar, *m*, 38
 Vīrarājēndra-chaturvēdimangalam, *sur* of Perumbākkam, 198, 199, 200
 Vīrarājēndra (or Vīrarājēndra-Kulōttunga) Jayamunādālvān, *sur.* of Arāyan Rājarājan, 38, 39, 41, 43.
 Vīrarājēndra-Malavarāyar, *sur* of Udayadvākan-Kūttāduvān, 38, 39, 41
 Vīrarājēndra-Mangalappērārāyan, *ch.*, 38, 39.
 Vīrarākshasa-Yādavarāja, *sur.* of Simha, 208
 Vīra-Sālmēgan, *sur.* of Jagatipāla, 52, 53, 56, 59, 63
 Vīrasikhāmanī-Mūvēndavēlār, *sur.* of Ambalavan Tiruppondayār, 136, 138, 139
 Vīra-Sōlachchēri, *quarter*, 177.
 Vīrasōla Ilangovēlār, *Kodumbālūr ch*, 230, 231
 Vīra-Sōla Ilangovēlār, *sur.* of Rājarājan-Paranripārākshasanār, 117, 134.
 Vīra-Sōla-mandalam, *sur* of Kongu, 31.
 Vīra-Sōlanallūr, *sur* of Perumbākkam, 198n
 Vīra-Sōlanallūr, *sur.* of Āndanūr, 47, 48.
 Vīra-Sōlan-Tirumadaivilāgam, *quarter of* Karuvūr, 47, 48.
 Vīra-Sōla-Pallavarāyan, *m.*, 136
 Vīra-Sōlasēri, *quarter of* Perumbēr, 202, 204.

Vīra-Sōla-Vinnagar or Vīrasōla-Vinnagar-Ālvār, *te*, 152, 155
 Vīrasōliyam, *Tamil grammar*, 197.
 Vīrasīkāmugavadi, *road*, 246, 247, 249, 279, 280.
 Vīrāta, *s. a*, Southern Berar, [19]
 Vīrattāna or Vīrattānēsvaia, *te*, 199, 281, 282.
 Vīravali, *vi*, 73, 74, 78
 Vīrōvallāladēva, *Hoysala k*, 31
 Vīrūchipuram, *vi*, 89n
 Vīrāta, *s. a* Berar, [18]
 Vīrōdhābhāsa, *alankāra*, 413n, 415n, 419n
 Vīrōnukka Manrādi, *sur* of Kumaran, *m*, 350
 Vīrpaiai, 264
 Vīrpedu-nādu, *di*, 138n
 Vīrpidi, *tax*, 311, 391, 436
 Vīrirund-Ālvār, *sur* of Lakshmīnārāyana, 173.
 Vīrirundān-Bhattan, *m.*, 87
 Vīrūnda-Perumāl, *te*, 8
 Vīrudarāja, *sur.* of Vikramāditya VI., 129, 130n.
 Vīrudarājabbhayamkara, *sur* of Kulōttunga-Chōladēva I, 130, 152
 Vīrudarāja (or Vīrudarāja) bhayamkara-valanādu (or valanādu), *sur* of Rājarāja-valanādu, 152, 162n, 190, 209
 Vīrudarājabbhayamkara-Vānakōvarāyar, *ch.*, 152, 154
 Vīrupanna, *Vijayanagara k.*, 465n.
 Vīśayavāddai, *sur* of Bezvāda, 65, 69.
 Vīśāla, *mythical k*, 416n
 vīśam or vīyam (Skt vyaya), 265, 275, 318
 Vīśan, *a servant*, 265n
 Vīśaharabhōga, 352, 353
 Vīśnu or Mahāvīśnu, *god*, 1, 18, 49, 50, 86, 87, 127, 134, 143n, 152, 158, 185, 207, 218, 233, 253, 266, 269n, 272, 275n, 340, 341, 342, 345n, 356, 372, 377, 385, 389, 413n, 415, 419, 420, 426, 439, 441, 445, 446, 457, 458
 Vīśnu, *m.*, 443, 459.
 Vīśnu-Bhattan, *m.*, 81
 Vīśnu-Bhattārika, *god*, 250.
 Vīśnugriham, *a temple of* Vīśnu, 1
 Vīśnu-Pūāna, *work*, 413n, 414n, 415n.
 Vīśnurāja, *sur* of Vīśnuvardhana III. 243.
 Vīśnu Tiruvēngada-Kīamavittan, *m*, 73.
 Vīśnuvaidhana III, *E Chālukya k*, 243.
 Vīśnuvardhana, *sur* of Vijayāditya I, 52, 65, 128n
 Vīśu, 227, 267, 265
 Vīśistas, *distinguished men*, 20, 232, 329.
 Vīśvajit, *mythical k.*, 385, 417.
 Vīttāi, *vi*, 293
 Vīrddhāchalam, *vi*, 152
 Vīrindāvana, 324.
 Vīśhabha-vāhana, *image of*, 301, 321.
 vītti, *land given for service*, 46.
 Vyāghrakētu, *sur* of Chitraratha, [4], 385, 417.
 Vyākaranamandapa, 337.
 Vyākaranam-Sāstra, 337.
 Vyākhyāvītti, 338.
 Vyāsa, *sage*, 416n.
 vyavasthā (or vyavasthai), *conditions*, 311, 391, 392, 437.

W

Wālājāpet, *vi.*, 95.
 Wandiwash, *vi.*, 1.
 Western ghāts, *mo.*, 144, 147n,

Y

Yādavarāya (*or* rāja), *title*, 208.

Yajñanārāyaṇa-Kāṇavittan, *m.*, 73.

Yamunā, *ri*, [19]

Yaśōvarman (Dasavarman), *W. Chālukya k.*, 58n.

Year of reign, [7], [8], [9], [10], [11], [12], [14], [15], [16], [17], [18], [21], 1 to 9, 11 to 21, 23 to 31, 38, 39, 41 to 52, 57, 58, 63 to 65, 70 to 79, 81 to 88, 90 to 92, 94, 101, 102, 104 to 109, 111 to 114, 117 to 123, 125, 132, 134, 135, 138 to 140, 142, 143, 148, 151, 152, 156, 158, 159, 162 to 164, 167, 168, 171 to 174, 176 to 182, 185, 186, 189, 191 to 195, 198 to 200,

202 to 210, 212 to 215, 217, 222 to 239, 241, to 264, 266, 267, 272, 276 to 289, 291 to 295, 300, 306 to 308, 311, 312, 323 to 327, 329, 330, 332 to 333, 389, 390, 392, 425 to 429, 437, 439, 443, 444, 445, 448, 449, 459, 462, 465, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 476, 477, 479.

Yedatore, *vi.*, 390, 465

Yôgêśvara, *shrine* of 137.

Yôgini, *shrine* of, 137

Yudhishtira, *epic-hero*, 416n

Yāpa, [7]

Yuvanâśva *mythical solar k.*, 385, 414.

Yuvarāja, 132, 194.